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ART. VII.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

To understand properly the religious significance and value of this most ancient Christian symbol, we must take into consideration, first, its *outward history*; secondly, its *constitution*, or *inward form*; and thirdly, its *material structure*, or *organism*. All this may be regarded as forming a proper introduction to the study of its actual contents, the glorious world of truth which it throws open to our contemplation.

I. *Outward History of the Creed.*

The title of the symbol seems, at first sight, to refer its authorship at once to the Apostles; and it has been in fact a very widely prevalent opinion in the Church, resting in long tradition, that it came originally complete in every part, as we now have it, from their hands. In the Romanist communion, it has been looked upon almost universally indeed, as profane to call this in question; and many in the Protestant world, have made it a part of their religion to believe the same thing. The first distinct statement

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of the opinion, we find in Rufinus, a church father of the fourth century; who speaks of it, however, as a common belief, handed down from an earlier time. According to this tradition, he says, the Apostles, before separating to their different fields of service, that they might not fall into any confusion subsequently, met together, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, by joint contribution of views, framed and adopted this compend, as a rule of faith, to be everywhere received by the infant churches. Some allusion to such joint composition, was found in the Greek name *symbol* itself, which signifies, primitively, a collation or throwing together of different things; and it is in conformity with the same thought, that we find the tradition elsewhere so far improved, as to refer to each Apostle, separately, a distinct article or clause of the creed, as his particular quota contributed towards its formation.

This whole opinion, however, is one which cannot be maintained with any tolerable show of success. Not only is it destitute of all positive historical foundation, but insuperable difficulties stand in the way of it on every side. No such apostolic creed or rule is mentioned in the New Testament. Some, indeed, have pretended to find it in St. Paul's "analogy or proportion of faith," Rom. xii. 6, the "good deposit" committed to Timothy, 2 Tim. i. 14, the "first principles of the oracles of God," mentioned Heb. vi. 12, the "doctrine" on which so much stress is laid by St. John 2nd Epis. v. 10, and "the faith once delivered unto the saints," as noticed by St. Jude, Ep. v. 3. But there is nothing in these passages to require any such interpretation. Still more significant is the silence of the early church writers. None of the fathers before Rufinus, Greek or Latin, make any mention of the tradition to which he refers; and in all their controversies and discussions, we meet with no appeal whatever, to any such single and fixed form of words, as of established authority from the time of the Apostles. On the contrary, the way in which they touch the subject, shows clearly that no fixed form of this sort was in existence. They refer frequently to a christian rule or canon of faith, and occasionally give us the sum of its contents; but this always with such free variation, as plainly implies that it was regarded as standing in

the substance of what it taught, rather than in any particular forms of expression. Nay, the testimony of Rufinus himself, is conclusive as regards this point. He affirms expressly, that the form was not the same precisely in all the churches; but that additions were made to it, in some cases, in opposition to particular local heresies. He himself chose to follow, as he tells us, the form to which he stood pledged by his own baptism in the church at Aquileia. This, of course, he accepted, as of apostolical authority; and yet he admits, that it contained one article which was not found in the Latin or Greek symbols generally, as in use elsewhere at that time. This was the article on Christ's descent into hades. It has been made clear besides, that the article on the communion of saints, was wanting altogether, and the article on the life everlasting, to a very considerable extent, in the symbols of the first four centuries; the truth asserted in each case, being held only, as something involved in the article going immediately before. Such variations in the form of the creed, forbid the supposition of any fixed system of words, recognized and received as the composition of the Apostles. For no one, surely, would have felt at liberty to alter any such normal scheme of faith; and the use of other different forms altogether in Gaul, Spain, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, &c., must be counted in this case a problem admitting no rational solution.

Against such weight of evidence, the mere *inscription* of the symbol cannot be taken as of any particular force. It is called, indeed, the *Apostles' Creed*. But this title might have come into use gradually, under a mistaken idea of its being derived from the Apostles', when it had no such origin in fact; or the title may be taken as referring, in its original application, only to the substantial contents of the creed, and not to its particular phraseology and form. The last supposition, we have every reason to assume as true and correct. The testimony of Rufinus himself, while it shows that there was a current general tradition in the Church at that time, referring the authorship of the creed to the Apostles, indicates clearly enough at the same time, that this was to be understood only of its soul and substance, and not of the very terms in which it might happen to be uttered in any given case. For he does not pretend to confine the cha-

racter of apostolic dignity to any single form of it, as then in use, to the exclusion of all the rest; but takes it for granted, rather, that all the churches enjoyed in this respect, the same advantage. He seems to allow, indeed, a certain central normality to the creed as used at Rome; but chooses, nevertheless, as we have just seen, to abide by the form it carried in his own church at Aquileia, as strictly answerable to his idea of apostolical authority, although including a clause, which by his own confession, had no place in it as it had been in use to that time in other places. This shows plainly, in what sense he took it to be from the Apostles; and it was no doubt only in the same view, that the title which it now bears, came in the first place into general use.

The title indeed, was by no means confined originally to this particular symbol, as distinguished from others; but was applied frequently also to other symbols, that of Nice for instance, that of Constantinople, &c.; since with all their difference, they were regarded as alike embodying and representing in a true form, the one catholic faith of the Church as it had been handed down from the Apostles.

In this way, we are prepared at once to meet the vanity of those who affect to run away with the point now granted and proved, as though nothing more were needed to overthrow the apostolical credit of the Creed entirely, and turn it into the character of any mere ordinary human composition. Of the two extremes, it is hard to say which in this case most deserves our commiseration; the superstition, which in the face of all historical evidence to the contrary, still clings to the dream of an outward construction of the symbol as we now have it, on the part of the Apostles; or the shallow frivolity, that in detecting the untenable character of this prejudice, is ready at once to chuckle over its great discovery as the revelation of a "pious fraud," which it feels itself at liberty ever afterwards to scout from its presence as deserving of no regard whatever. With such mechanical *illumination*, that is so soon and so easily conducted to the end of its subject, it becomes us of course to have no patience or correspondence. Its superior wisdom is, after all, in the case before us, of a most sophomorical complexion. "What men call the Apostles' Creed," this spirit exclaims, "though very ancient, was no more an apos-

tolical invention than was Christmas-pie.”* Admitted, so far as any particular outward structure is concerned. But is *this* a discovery to be paraded in such style, over against the ancient fathers and the belief of the early Church? The puerility here falls not on the fathers, but on the modern rationalism, that thinks to dispose of the whole question in such poor outward style. Even Rufinus himself, refers the Creed to the Apostles, only in such a way, as to leave room for much liberty and variation in its external form. But all this was not felt, either by him or by the Church in general, to conflict at all with the reigning tradition, which carried back its origin to the time of the Apostles. The true power and value of the symbol were felt to stand, not in a given fixed version established for its universal use, but in the divine substance of its contents, which was capable of retaining its identity under very considerable changes of expression. So far as this was concerned, the christian catholic world considered itself in possession always of one and the same faith, however much freedom it might see fit to exercise with the utterance of it in different places. It was known well enough, that the general symbol admitted an utterance more or less full, as circumstances might require; that particular additions had been made to it with the progress of time, which did not belong to it in the beginning; and that it was not the same thing precisely, as to all its details, in any two leading provinces of the Church. And yet, notwithstanding all this, it was felt that the Church had but one Creed, and that this was of truly apostolical dignity and authority. It expressed not only the same faith that was held by the Apostles,

* See notice of Dr. Bushnell's address at Andover, in the October number of the Boston "Observatory," for 1848, p. 479: "We are at a loss to understand what is meant by the boasted progress of theological science. So far as we can see, the foot-prints of this progress are all *back-tracks*. The Puseyites are advancing stern-foremost towards the Dark Ages, and Dr. Bushnell is backing up to what he calls the 'Apostles' Creed,' which, though very ancient, was no more an apostolical invention than was Christmas-pie. Such hind-part-before 'progress,' like the 'man with his head turned,' with his reversed stridings and grotesque backslidings, does not promise that the 'new era of christianity,' which is said to be at hand, will be any improvement on the past." This may be allowed to be sufficiently *smart*; but is it not also sufficiently profane?

but it was their faith itself handed forward thus, under a living character, in the good confession of the Church from age to age. It was no product of private thinking here and there, as though the churches being left all to frame their several creeds in a separate way, had simply happened to come so near together, without yet reaching a full harmony; but it was something that came to them from a common source and under a common character, and which in this view was of broader and deeper force than any merely private confession as such. The unity of the Creed was determined by the realness of its contents, and the relation under which these were apprehended by all parts of the Church alike. It stood bound thus to the new order of life, which was revealed by Christ, through the Apostles, in the Church. Its stability was not in the outward letter, so much as in the inward spirit. It was written and preserved, as one of the fathers expresses it, not on plates of metal or stone, but on "fleshy tables of the heart," by the Spirit of the living God.*

In this way then, the old church tradition, as it has passed down to us from the earliest times, is still entitled to our earnest respect; and we may easily see in fact, how with all its changes and variations, the symbol before us may be said to have taken its rise in the very age of the Apostles, and in a certain sense, under their very hands, and to have represented from the beginning, the one unvarying faith of the universal christian world. It needs no very close inspection to perceive that the manifold ways in which it was uttered come all to the same thing at last, and fall back always to a single fundamental formula as their general and common ground. They are at most, different translations, more or less full, of one and the same creed, comprising in itself the sense of the new creation in Christ Jesus.

It lies in the nature of the case, that the christian profession must have involved some common rule of faith from the beginning. "The word is nigh thee," Paul says, "even in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt

* Jerome, ep. lxi. as quoted by Bingham: *Ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed tabulis cordis carnalibus.*

believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Rom. x. 8, 9. Faith comes to its proper completion only in the way of utterance; the inward word to be truly real must pass over into the form of an outward word; which becomes thus, at the same time, the bond of union and fellowship with others who have been made to partake of the same grace. Such an utterance of christian faith, in what may be considered its primary central form, is presented to us in the memorable confession of Peter: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" or, as we have it in another place: "To whom shall we go but unto Thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." (Matt. xvi. 16; John, vi. 68, 69.) The whole Creed, as we shall see hereafter, is in truth wrapped up in this foundation article, and grows forth from it with inward necessity. Afterwards we have it, more full and clear, in the form of baptism, as presented by our Saviour himself: "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Christ is the revelation of God, under the three-fold character here brought into view; and this revelation may be said to constitute the sum and substance of christianity, as the object of the faith we profess in coming into his Church. To be baptized into Christ, is to be baptized into the whole mystery of the Trinity, as inseparably joined with his person; and the formal acknowledgement of this mystery accordingly, in the way of solemn response or confession, was associated with the ordinance, no doubt, from the beginning. It is allowed almost universally, that reference to such a confession is made by St. Peter, where he speaks of the answer of a "good conscience," (1 Pet. iii. 21,) as necessary to be added to the outward washing of water, to complete the idea of baptism. The good profession of Timothy "before many witnesses," (1 Tim. vi. 12,) is taken by many to refer also to the same thing. It is not necessary to suppose, that the profession thus required of all who came into the Church, was even in the age of the Apostles, under the same invariable form. It was sometimes more and sometimes less

full, but it always carried in it, explicitly or by implication, a full assent to the contents of the baptismal formula. How far it may have become usual, before the death of the Apostles, to connect with this foundation the secondary clauses of the Creed as it now stands, cannot be clearly determined. But no one familiar with the early history of Christianity, can well fail to see that this must have been the case, at least to some extent; and the probability is certainly strong, that early in the second century, if not before, nearly all the particulars now embraced in it were found more or less in current use.

Still, as before said, the current use itself remained irregular and free. Each church considered itself at liberty to employ its own particular style of expressing its faith; just as each exercised the same sort of liberty in its general liturgy; while at the same time the faith itself was considered to be of a common character, belonging alike to all the churches and handed down from the Apostles. The variety and freedom thus allowed, were not suffered to trench upon the unity of the general tradition or rule. In the midst of it all, this was still felt to be one and the same, and is frequently appealed to accordingly, by the early writers as of acknowledged and easily intelligible authority.

Irenaeus speaks of such an "immoveable rule of truth," belonging to every christian by his baptism; and describes it as proclaiming: "One God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven, earth, the sea, and all that they contain; one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation; and one Holy Spirit, who by the prophets preached the dispensations and the advents; the generation from the Virgin, the passion, the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension with the flesh into heaven of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Beloved, and his coming from heaven in the glory of the Father, to gather all things together into one and to raise all human flesh, that to Jesus Christ our Lord, and God and Saviour and king, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue confess, and that he may execute just judgment upon all; remanding wicked spirits, and sinning apostate angels, and the impious, unrighteous, disobedient and blasphemous among men, into eter-

nal fire ; but on the righteous, and holy, and such as have kept his commandments and continued in his love, some from the beginning and others from their repentance, bestowing life, the gift of immortality and everlasting glory."* Irenaeus does not mean, of course, to quote literally in this case, any certain formula, as of established and fixed use in the churches. His whole manner implies the contrary, and may be taken as evidence that no fixed formula of this sort, as afterwards settled in our present Apostles' Creed, was then in ecclesiastical use. But he appeals nevertheless to what he regards as a well defined and clearly intelligible rule of faith, as forming the substance of the christian profession ; and it is easy enough to see, that this agrees entirely with the contents of the Creed now mentioned, showing it to reach back in the use of the Church, so far as these are concerned, to the age in which he lived. We have his testimony moreover, that it was in this view of apostolical and universal authority. The Church, he tells us, disseminated throughout the whole world, held it from the Apostles and their disciples, keeping it carefully, as though she occupied but a single house, accepting its contents everywhere as with one heart and soul, and preaching them as from one and the same mouth. "The dialects in which it is uttered are different ; but the tradition is in force the same. The churches founded in Germany, have no other faith and doctrine ; nor those in Spain ; nor those among the Celts ; nor those in the East ; nor those in Egypt ; nor those in Lybia ; nor those of more central situation ; but as the sun, God's workmanship, is over the whole globe one and the same, so also the evangelical truth shines everywhere and illuminates all who are willing to come to its light."

The testimony of Irenaeus is very important, as illustrating both sides of the true doctrine concerning the origin of the Creed. It started with no such fixed form of words, in the beginning, as it carries in its repetition now. Irenaeus, and the Church in his time, knew of no apostolical tradition in this outward form, and none should be pretended by any part of the modern Church.

* Adv. haeres. lib. 1. c. x. Quoted in full by Bingham, Orig. Eccles. lib 10. cap. iv.

But Irenaeus, and the Church in his time, were perfectly familiar notwithstanding, with the idea of a christian *regula fidei* or creed, of universal force, and in actual use among all the churches. Still more, this rule was regarded as strictly and truly the *Apostles' Creed*. It was no product of private opinion, and it stood not at all in articles of convention and agreement adopted by the general christian body. It was accepted everywhere as a system handed down from the Apostles; not merely as supposed to be in the spirit of their teaching, but as carrying forward in the faith of the Church, the very substance and contents of the divine revelation itself, which they were sent to proclaim. Finally, we gather from Irenaeus, that this Rule of Faith, in living use with the universal Church of his time, embraced in itself, under a free character, all the leading features of the Apostles' Creed, as afterwards settled in its present form; in which view it may well continue to challenge the reverential homage of all Christendom still, and onward to the end of the world, as a true apostolical symbol. This testimony of Irenaeus, it is well always to bear in mind, carries us back to the second century, and into close proximity thus with the immediate disciples of the Apostles themselves.

Tertullian appeals frequently, in the same free way, to the christian Rule of Faith, and recapitulates several times its general contents, always in harmony with the sum of it as given by Irenaeus, for the purpose of confuting and confounding the heretics of his own time. His recapitulations are indeed always different, sometimes more and sometimes less full, showing that the Creed was more life than mere word; but they assume throughout, notwithstanding the clear identity belonging to it, as a single apostolical tradition.* The amount of it is always: One God, the almighty maker of the world; his Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, constituted Messiah, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised the third day, exalted to heaven and set at the right hand of God, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; the Holy Ghost sent forth vicariously, according to his promise, to sanctify those that believe in his name; the res-

*“ *Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.*”

urrection of the flesh, the damnation of the wicked, and the reception of the righteous into eternal life and the blessedness of heaven.* This rule, he says, instituted by Christ, allows no questions, other than such as spring from heresy and go to make heretics; it is older than all heresies; their novelty, as exposed by it, serves to establish its antiquity; to know nothing beyond it, is to know all that is necessary.†

Origen, in like manner, gives a summary statement of the heads of christian doctrine, "as plainly received by apostolical tradition," which corresponds in substance with the same rule.

From Cyprian, we have an insight into the general Creed of the Church in Africa, as it stood in his time. The Novatians, he admits, proposed the same questions at baptism that were used in the Church catholic, calling for faith in God the Father, his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost. But still, he contends, that as schismatics, their rule and interrogation could not be regarded as the same; "for when they say: Dost thou believe the remission of sins and eternal life through the holy Church? they interrogate falsely, since they have no Church." This shows that the whole Creed, nearly as we have it now, was in common use in Africa, at this time, as an apostolical rule of faith, in connection with the baptismal service.‡

These private testimonies show the presence everywhere in the early Church of an evangelical tradition, agreeing in its general contents with the Creed as it now stands, and accepted as of strictly apostolical origin and weight. They show also, that this tradition was regarded, not as a slavish form of words, but a free doctrine rather, that might be uttered in various ways. Still it would be a great mistake, to conceive of it as wholly loose and floating, in the style of these notices. In the nature of the case, the different churches must have held it from the beginning, under some regular and standing form. This may have varied some with the progress of time, as circumstances seemed to call

* De veland. virg. c. i. De praescript. adv. haereticos, c. xiii. Advers. Prax. c. ii. Quoted in full by Bingham, Orig. Eccl. lib. 10. cap. iv.

† "Nihil ultra scire, omnia scire est."

‡ Epist. lxxvi. ad Magnum.

for new points and specifications; and in this way, there would be room of course, for considerable peculiarity in the several churches, compared one with another; but the reigning type of the creed in each case must have continued always the same. So much may be said to lie in the primitive design of the thing itself. It was the profession of faith that accompanied the sacrament of baptism, and that grew originally out of the baptismal formula as spoken by our Lord in its institution. Its use in the first centuries, was specially for those who were about to be introduced into the Church by this holy sacrament, after having gone through all proper previous steps, in the way of preparation for the solemnity. It was first delivered to the catechumen by the bishop, (*traditio symboli*) orally as it would seem, though possibly at times, also in writing; and then afterwards, in the course of a few days, publicly spoken back again and returned, (*redditio symboli*,) as being effectually laid up in the meantime in the candidate's memory.* This was followed by an open solemn profession on the part of the candidate, at the time of his baptism itself, in the way of response to distinct interrogatories embracing the symbol in its several parts. Such an "answer of good conscience," is referred to by the earliest ecclesiastical writers wherever the subject comes in their way, and is to be regarded as starting undoubtedly in the practice of the Apostles themselves. All this implies, however, a short standing form, of established use in each particular church. Cyprian gives us a glimpse into the general African formula, as it was everywhere of force in the first part of the third century. Other sections of the Church had similar standing forms; some more full perhaps than others; those of the East different from those of the West; but all handed down from the earliest time, and palpably expressing one and the same faith, as they belonged to one and the same baptism.

In the fourth century, these public formularies begin to come

*The brief form of this confession, says Neander, as a matter of course, did not need a written communication; it was to pass over into the soul of the catechumen, out of *the living word into the life*; it must be the utterance of his own conviction. Christianity stands primarily, not in letter, but life. So Augustine: *Hujus rei significandae causa, audiendo symbolum discitur, nec in tabulis vel in aliqua materia, sed in corde scribitur.*

more distinctly into view ; always, however, in such a way as to show them in full, actual, and undisputed possession of the authority they claim, as of the most ancient right and force. Take for instance, the symbol then in use at Rome. It is not specially presented to us, before this time. But what could well be more monstrous, than to fancy that it was for this reason of any comparatively recent date. It meets us in no such form ; it tolerates from us no such doubt. We might just as well question the antiquity of the church itself in Rome, as question the antiquity of its creed. We meet it not in the fourth century, as a new thing, the creation, possibly, only of that age, or the one going before ; it is the old baptismal symbol, as all the world then might know it to have been in use there from time immemorial ; it is the christian rule of faith, the creed of the Apostles, in the particular form in which it had come to be woven into the very life of this ancient church from the beginning. So with the church at Aquileia ; and so with the churches generally. Their particular creeds are regarded always as dating, in their main character, from the most remote christian antiquity.

The very early origin of nearly all the elements presented in these church symbols of the fourth century, is shown not merely by the outward tradition going along with them in each case, and their general agreement with one another, but very strikingly also by the historical relations that are found imbedded as it were in their own form. The Creed is, of course, primarily positive, and not simply negative, in its contents. It affirms a substantial reality, which is not produced in any way by the mere denial of the various errors and false doctrines to which it stands opposed. At the same time, to be thus positive and affirmative, it must include in itself, from the start, a steady protest against such false doctrines as they came in its way. The christian consciousness can evolve itself only by a process of continual critical separation, by which all that is foreign to its true life is sundered from this, and made to stand over against it as its antichristian opposite and contradiction. It lies moreover in the nature of this process, that the errors which are thus cast out will not come into view confusedly and by chance, but must be conditioned and determined always by the posture which has been reached by the

christian consciousness itself at the time of their appearance. In the history of the Church, accordingly, each age has its own forms of heresy, as well defined, we may say, as the successive geological formations that show themselves in the structure of the earth. The "fossil remains" of each period, are found wrought into the solid rock by which it is represented for all subsequent time.

In this way, the Apostles' Creed, aside from all outward historical evidence in the case, falls back plainly, in its main composition, to the earliest period of the Church. Its various propositions carry in them, beyond all doubt, a reference to certain false tendencies, which at the time of their original utterance, were actively at hand, and working towards the overthrow of the christian faith. This has been very generally seen and felt; and great pains have been taken by such writers as Vossius, Pearson, Basnage, King, &c., to identify the relation of the several clauses of the Creed, in this way, to specific forms of heresy mentioned in early church history. Thus one clause is explained as springing out of opposition to Ebion, Cerinthus, and others; a second, as in contradiction to Menander, Cerdo and Saturninus; and so most of the rest, as directed against Gnostic, Montanistic, Novatian, or other errors. Walch in his *Introd. in Lib. Symb.* p. 101, justifies this view in a general way, while he considers, at the same time, that it has been carried by some quite too far. Bull and Grabe are disposed to dispute its correctness a good deal farther; the latter especially, holding that all the clauses of the Creed, with the exception of those on the *descent into hades* and the *communion of saints*, (possibly also that on *the church*.) came into use in the age of the Apostles themselves, by their authority, or at all events, with their knowledge and approbation, and are to be explained out of relations existing at that time. The question cannot be brought probably to any such absolute determination as this; but in any case, a proper familiarity with the early history of the Church, must lead us to feel that we have no right to come lower than the first part of the second century, in order to fix, to the extent just mentioned, the rise of the several parts of the Creed. The errors excluded by them, are such as lie close around the inmost life of christianity. They

belong to the very first stage of the process by which this life was required to unfold itself in the form of history. They come in the way of that process, by a sort of inward necessity, from the very start. We meet them, accordingly, under full revelation, in the second century. There is no occasion then to descend lower than this, for the rise of the Creed. It was *needed* for the second century; it forms the proper utterance of the christian life as it then stood, in the face of all sorts of Gnostic and Ebionitic unbelief. Still more; we have good evidence that those spurious forms of thinking were actively at work in the century before. Gnosticism, as it meets us in the second century, sprang not abruptly and with a single stroke, like a full armed Minerva, on the arena of church history. We have traces enough in the New Testament, of the chaotic workings at least of the same antichristian spirit in the very age of the Apostles. Indeed, to assert itself at all, the christian life must be supposed to have been brought into conflict with the substance of these primitive forms of heresy from the beginning. It was then practically an utterance of faith from the first, answerable to these circumstances; and no good reason can be shown, why the utterance should not have passed over, in the apostolic period itself, to a free form of words also in substantial agreement with the ancient symbol as it now stands. Let any one but have in his mind a lively sense of the terrible aberrations from the truth, that are revealed to us darkly from the first days of the infant Church, in the writings of Paul and John and Peter and Jude, and he will not be likely to feel that there is any necessity whatever for coming down to the heresies of a later time, as broached by Cerdo, Marcion, Saturninus, Valentinus, Basilides, &c., much less to the age of the Novatians, or that of the Donatists, in order to explain the sense and force of the testimony here handed down in the Apostles' name. Was not the same testimony, at almost every point, called for by the relations of the Church in the first century? And if so, what right have we to overlook these altogether, and refer its origin mainly to another time? No one, at all events, can study attentively the structure of the Creed, without finding in its whole formation clear monumental evidence of the very highest christian antiquity.

With the advance of time, as the aspects of heresy changed, the old elementary style of the Creed was made to undergo naturally, in different quarters, partial and circumstantial modifications, in the way of direct testimony over against such new errors. Thus, for instance, in the church at Aquileia, the first article read in the time of Rufinus: I believe in God the Father Almighty, *invisible and impassible*; with clear reference to the Sabellian and Patripassian heresies, which affirmed that it was the Father himself who had become incarnate and suffered under Pontius Pilate. This symbol also included the article on the *descent to hades*, as we have before seen, when it had no place, as Rufinus supposed, in the other creeds generally existing in his time. In the Oriental Church, the tendency of the Creed to adjust itself, by expansion and modification, to new necessities, prevailed more actively than it did among the Latins; by reason of the manifold phases and forms, in which false doctrine was always starting into fresh life, on that field, during the first ages. Thus we find in Cyril, the creed of the church at Jerusalem, as it had stood before the Council of Nice, bearing upon it such significant amplification at various points.* Still, different from this again, was the old creed used at Caesarea, in Palestine, recited by Eusebius, in the Nicene Council, as the formula of faith which he had received there at his baptism. It approached closely to the symbol adopted by this Council. It is a probable supposition, that the Nicene Creed was made to embrace the reigning type of the older Oriental symbols, with such additions only as were needed to meet effectually the false doctrine of Arius.† As issued at Nice, however, (a. 325,) it was made to close abruptly with the article of the Holy Ghost, leaving out all that should follow

* "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all days, the God, by whom all things were created, who was incarnate and made man; was crucified and buried, the third day rose from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father; who shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who spake by the prophets; in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; in one holy catholic church; and in the resurrection of the flesh and in life everlasting."

† Walch. Introd. in Lib. Symb. p. 20.

concerning the Church and the course of the new creation in Christ Jesus; by which some have been led to question the presence of these concluding topics in the earlier creeds altogether. But we have ample evidence to show the contrary; and the omission here is accounted for very easily, by the consideration that the object of the Nicene Creed was simply to repel the errors of Arius and his party in regard to the Trinity. The topics following had not been called in controversy, and were left to stand untouched accordingly, as already found in the creeds generally. Subsequently, by the second general Council, (held at Constantinople, a. 381,) this omission was formally supplied, and the Creed re-adopted, with some other improvements, in the form in which it is now known and used; with the exception only of the clause that makes the procession of the Holy Ghost to be *from the Son*, as well as from the Father, which was added at a later period by the Latin Church. The older Oriental creeds naturally gave way to this œcumenical Nicene, or rather Niceno-constantinopolitan, symbol. It passed very soon into general use, as it would seem in the administration of baptism; and was adopted subsequently into the stated liturgical church service. It is agreed on all hands, however, that the practice of reciting it in this way, was not introduced before the middle of the fifth century.*

Among the earlier symbols of the Western Church, which differed somewhat among themselves, as we have already seen, though their reigning type was always the same, a sort of central dignity and pre-eminence was gradually claimed and allowed in favor of the formula used at Rome.† When speaking of the occasional slight variations of the Creed, in different churches, Rufinus tells us, that nothing of this sort was to be found in the Roman church; a fact which he accounts for in this way, that no heresy had started there, and that those who were to receive baptism were required always to repeat the creed before the whole congregation, which stood ready at once to object to the slightest

* See Bingham, *Orig. Eccl. Lib.* x. cap. 4. § 14, 16, 17.

† *Credatur symbolo apostolorum, quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et seriat.*—*Ambrose, Ep.* 81.

innovation in its terms. Still Rufinus chose to abide by his own symbol, as he held it from the church at Aquileia; and whatever the stability of the Roman formula might have been previously, we find it at a later period consenting to complete itself by the admission of a little material at least, which did not belong to it from the beginning. As it stood in the time of Rufinus, it lacked the articles on the *descent to hades*, and the *life everlasting*, as well as the title *catholic*, in connection with the Church. In reality, however, of course, the descent to hades was involved in the clause on *Christ's death and burial*, and the life everlasting in the idea of the *resurrection*; while the Church, as an object of faith, includes the conception of catholicity as an attribute inseparable from its constitution. When precisely the Roman creed was brought to include, in common use, the separate distinct utterance of the points now noticed, is not known. They were, however, in due time fairly installed in their place; and in this form, having come in the fifth and sixth centuries into general use, it has come down to us, with the veneration of the whole christian world, as the standard edition of the ancient rule of faith, the best and truest representation of the fundamental realities of the christian religion, the proper Apostles' Creed.

In this character, it forms the basis of all sound christian profession, in the Protestant Church no less than in the Roman Catholic. In the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, its credit and authority remained inviolate and unimpaired. The object of the Reformation was, to sweep aside the rubbish which threatened to smother the life of the ancient faith, not by any means to bring this faith itself out of the way. Both divisions of the Protestant Church accordingly, the Lutheran and the Reformed, united in acknowledging the binding authority of the ancient oecumenical symbols, and especially the root of all symbols as found in the Apostles' Creed. They did not pretend to abjure all connection with the past, but professed to build on a foundation already laid, and to carry forward a work already long since begun. In the Lutheran Church, the three primary Creeds, (Apostolical, Nicene and Athanasian,) are made to precede the Augsburg Confession, in the Form of Concord; to show, says Walch, "that Lutherans embrace not a new doctrine, but such

as is old and apostolical, and profess thus the truly catholic faith." How fully it lay at the foundation of all christianity with Luther himself, we all know. It was part of his piety, a necessary means of grace with him, he tells us himself, to repeat the Creed with the Lord's Prayer, throughout his life, in the spirit of a little child. His sense of the authority that belongs to the ancient catholic faith altogether, was very earnest and deep. "It is dangerous and terrible," he writes in his memorable letter to Albert of Prussia, "to hear or believe anything, against the united testimony, faith and doctrine of the universal holy christian Church, as held now and from the beginning, for 1500 years, throughout the world." The Creed, of course, occupies a conspicuous place in his catechism. In this, however, we see only an image of the universal Protestant feeling in that age. Every such formulary of religious instruction was expected, as a matter of course, to take in the Creed, along with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.

The Reformed Church here was of one mind with the Lutheran. Thus in Calvin's Catechism, the first section treats of *Faith*; which is said to have the sum of its contents in the "formula of confession held in common by all christians; commonly called the *Apostles' Creed*, and always received from the beginning among the pious; as being either derived from the mouth of the Apostles, or faithfully collected from their writings." After this it is recited and expounded in full. So in the admirable symbol of the Palatinate, the Heidelberg Catechism, "it is the articles of our catholic undoubted christian faith," as comprehended in the same Creed, which are made to underlie the doctrine of salvation from beginning to end. It formed part of the regular church service, in the Reformed liturgies, accompanied their baptisms, and entered into their celebration of the holy eucharist. The Gallican Confession, art. 5. approves the three Creeds, Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian, as agreeing with the written word of God. "We do willingly receive the three creeds," it is said in the Belgic Confession, art. 9, "namely, that of the Apostles, of Nice, and of Athanasius; likewise that which conformable thereunto, is agreed upon by the ancient fathers." In the Helvetic Confession, art. 11, the symbols of the first four

general councils, together with that of Athanasius, are cordially approved and professed. The three Creeds are endorsed in the Articles of the Church of England, as worthy of all reception. In the Declaration of 'Thorn, we are said to be all baptized into the Apostles' Creed, as a compendium of the christian faith; and the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds are taken still farther as a sure interpretation of the same heavenly doctrine, forming thus the common ground on which all who profess Christ, must of necessity come together, and the one firm foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. It is part of the true Protestant faith, undoubtedly, as held by the Reformed Church, no less than the Lutheran, to abide by the ancient christian Creed. Whatever else it may include, it starts from this and rests in it throughout, as its sure and necessary foundation.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the honor thus put upon the Creed in the original Protestant Confessions, has undergone, practically at least, no slight eclipse, in a wide portion of the modern Protestant world. So far as Rationalism has had power in Europe, the authority of the ancient church faith, of course, fell into discredit; and it is felt now by those who seek the revival of pure christianity, that all turns on the power of the Church to intone with full emphasis again, in her public formularies and services, every single article of the *symbolum apostolicum*, most especially those of the incarnation, the descent into hades, and the resurrection of the body. But the low esteem for the Creed, of which we now speak, has not been confined to Rationalism, technically so styled. We see it widely displayed in other sections also of the Protestant world, which we are accustomed to distinguish as orthodox and evangelical. The other great disease of the Protestant system, the spirit of *Sect*, shows a striking affinity here, no less than at other points, with the Rationalistic tendency of which it is the natural counterpart. Sects, in proportion as they *are* sects, that is in the same measure that they lack all sympathy with the idea of the Church, and substitute sectarianism for catholicity, will be found all the world over to have no taste for the Creed. They may possibly extend to it some cold token of respect, as a venerable relic of early christianity; but it has not their heart, falls not in with their habit of

christianity, and is admitted to no place of course in their worship, public or private.

More than this, *Puritanism*, which we do not wish to confound certainly with Rationalism and the Sect System, although it carries in itself undoubtedly a more direct tendency towards both than can be said to lie in original Protestantism, being in truth, an advance on this, whether for weal or for woe, and such an advance as places it in closer natural proximity to the evils now mentioned; Puritanism, we say, taking the term in the broad sense, to designate a special form of the religious life, which is just as well defined in history as early Protestantism itself, may be said to carry with it this universal character, that it makes no account practically of the Apostles' Creed. The remark is not made here of course in the way of censure or reproach, and ought not to be taken as disrespectful in any way to the system in question. We are dealing simply with the history of the subject; and the fact now stated, is one which no well informed person will pretend to call in question. It matters not that the authority of the Creed may be recognized, in some general way, in this or that old confession still retained in the Church; so far as the Puritan spirit in its modern form is found to prevail in any ecclesiastical body, all actual use of the Creed, and all hearty interest in it, are to the same extent wanting. It is not used, for example, in the religious education of families. Children, generally, are not made to lay it up in their minds, as the sum and substance of the christian faith. It comes not into view in catechetical instruction; if indeed this itself be still upheld, under any form, in regular use. It is not repeated of course in public worship; the minister who should take upon him any such innovation as that, would be suspected of some secret hankering after Rome. It is not made in any way a rule of christian profession or public teaching. It is quite common, for instance, in Congregationalist churches, to make use of "covenants," or forms of profession and engagement, when members are received into full communion, each congregation varying the form to suit its own taste; but it would be hard to find one among all, that would be content to make use of the Apostles' Creed in this way, or even to be

guided by it at all in the construction of its own formulary.* The feeling is, plainly enough, that this old symbol has had its day, and is now antiquated if not absolutely obsolete; that it bears upon it the marks of a rude and imperfect christianity, not without some touch of tendency towards superstition; that the evangelical faith of the present day may be more clearly and satisfactorily expressed, in other schemes and summaries altogether, any one of which, as taken from the Bible and common christian experience, is to be held just as much entitled to honor as that which is thus falsely ascribed to the Apostles. It is felt to be on the whole a loose and careless production; without much plan or method, and governed by no principle in the choice of its articles; introducing some points of no necessary importance, and leaving out several others that should be counted indispensable. One thing is beyond all controversy certain, that if Puritanism were called upon to form a fundamental, universal christian creed, it would fall on something very different from this ancient symbol, both in conception and style. All this, as before said, is noticed

* A striking exemplification of this independence is furnished in the manufacture of a new confession of faith, a few years since, for the use of the *Protestant Armenian Church*, lately started, under the auspices of our New England missionaries, in the city of Constantinople. In other ages, the casting of a creed for a whole church has been counted an enterprise of no common size and weight; but here, it was the work of one or two hands only, brought happily to a full conclusion in the course of a few hours! To expedite the business, and guard against all outward bias, the precaution was adopted, we are told, of shutting out from all consultation whatever had been adopted by any part of the Church as of symbolical authority previously, (the primitive foundation Creed of the Oriental Church, of course, along with the rest,) so as to draw the whole by purely *original* deduction direct from the Bible, *as traditionally understood in New England*. Not a syllable accordingly does this new confession contain, in recognition of the ancient symbol of universal Christendom. The greatest marvel of all, perhaps, is, that this bold way of going to work in so momentous a case, should be quietly accepted so generally, (by the whole American Board for instance,) as nothing out of the way, a mere matter of course. So, it will be remembered, the late World Convention at London, in undertaking to construct an œcumenical platform for the union of *evangelical* sects, found it necessary to ignore the Apostles' Creed in full, and brought in a new set of articles altogether of its own invention, as better suited for the purpose.

here neither in they way of blame nor of praise, but simply as a matter of history which is open to common observation. In this view, however, it is entitled to earnest attention. The fact, in its own nature, is curious. Nor can it easily be allowed to be of only small significance. Such variation from the mind and posture of the ancient Church, in regard to the Creed, implies necessarily a serious variation from the life of primitive christianity in general. The difference between Puritanism and original Protestantism here, argues necessarily a very considerable remove in the whole inward habit and being of the first from the proper spiritual constitution of the second. Such a fact has a right to challenge notice. Whether it be looked upon as right or wrong, an occasion for gratulation or a reason for censure and complaint, it is entitled at all events to earnest consideration, and should if possible be fairly understood and explained.

The force of what is now said will become still more evident when we take into view the interior constitution of the Creed, its rise and structure in the living sphere of faith, to which it primarily and natively belongs.

J. W. N.

ART. VIII.—THE PROGRESS OF ETHNOLOGY. *An Account of recent Archæological, Philological and Geographical researches in various parts of the globe, tending to elucidate the physical history of man.* By John Russell Bartlett, Cor. Sec. of the American Ethnological Society, and foreign Cor. Sec. of the New York Hist. Society. Second edition; New York: Bartlett & Welford, 7, Astor House. 1847.

No department of inquiry which tends to confirm the truth of Sacred Scripture, ought to be regarded as trivial. All researches

therefore into the records of nations long since passed away, or which now exist in a state of degeneracy, must be replete with interest to the student of the Bible, that most ancient *thesaurus* of facts pertaining to the original inhabitants of the earth. It has long been the practice of infidels to scoff at the statements of the inspired penmen, and sneeringly to inquire what proofs can be adduced of the truth of many of their assertions, especially, in relation to tribes whose very names seem to have become extinct. But we are happy to perceive that the science of Ethnology has stepped forward and confirmed the truth of statements which could not otherwise have been so satisfactorily established.

The book before us, has given us a brief outline of such researches in various parts of the globe, especially during the year preceding its publication. It was laid before the New York Historical Society, (a society which has done much to draw forth the talent and enterprise of our country,) and, although not strictly a historical subject, is yet sufficiently so, to come within the scope and design of that excellent institution.

It has long been a well-known fact, that throughout most of the Western and Southern States, especially in the valley of the Mississippi, there exist monuments and ancient remains of a people, who seem to have far transcended the present Indians, in intelligence, skill, and the arts of civilized life. But little was done until "two gentlemen of Ohio, Dr. Davis and Mr. E. G. Squier attempted to explore the region of the Scioto valley. Their labors seem to have been crowned with abundant success; and they have been enabled to show that the tumuli which abound in those regions, are divided into three grand classes, viz: 1st. Tumuli of sepulture, each containing a single skeleton, enclosed in a rude wooden coffin or an envelope of bark or matting, and occurring in isolated or detached groups. 2d. Tumuli of sacrifice, containing symmetrical altars of stone or burnt clay, occurring within, or in the immediate vicinity of enclosures, and always stratified. 3d. Places of observation, or mounds, raised upon elevated or commanding stations." Within these tumuli have been found implements and ornaments of silver, copper, lead, stone, ivory, and pottery, and sculptures of animals, birds and reptiles. Rocks too, have been found, on which are cut the outlines of the human figure, and of birds and animals. These researches, says our author, "show that a people, radically different from the existing race of Indians, once occupied the valley

of the Mississippi." Perhaps we are not far from the truth, in supposing them to be identical with the tribes of Central America, whose magnificent remains are so fully described by Mr. Stephens. We are farther informed of the successful labors of Dr. Dickeson, in the South-western States; he having examined no less than one hundred and fifty mounds and tumuli, one of which contains on its summit, a superficies of eight acres, having within vast numbers of skeletons, vases, ornaments, &c. The north side of it is supported by a wall of sun-dried bricks, two feet thick. To the different kinds of mounds, he assigns the names of *telegraphs or look-outs, temples, cemeteries, and tent mounds*. Many of these are built with mathematical precision, in the shape of squares, triangles, and circles. Wells and reservoirs, lined with burnt clay, were also found. And what is not a little remarkable, heads were discovered in which artificial teeth were found, as well as teeth which had been plugged, thus showing that the art of dentistry was known among them. In a long list of antiquities found by Mr. Dickeson, we note the following: arrow points of jasper, quoits, weights, corn-grinders, stone statues, beads, war-clubs, bracelets, handled saucers, earthen lamps, copper medals, jars, cups and vases in every variety. These mounds are easily distinguished from those of modern Indians; and one mound was found to be the work of three different periods. At the top were the remains of the present Indians; digging lower, he found ancient Spanish relics, and still lower, were the relics of the primitive race. Much interest was formerly excited, which still continues, in reference to certain characters inscribed upon a tablet found in the Grave-creek mound, Virginia, noticed by Mr. Schoolcraft, in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society. M. Jomard, of the French Institute, and Mr. Hodgson, have both expressed their decided opinion that these characters are Numidian, being the same with those found on the monument of Thugga, and with those used by the Taurycks, at the present day; constituting part of the Lybian alphabet. This would seem to confirm the tradition of certain Phœnician or Carthaginian ships having, at a remote period, visited America, by the way of the Canaries and other islands lying between Africa and this country; and it is worthy of remark that a strong affinity exists between the ancient names of men and animals in those islands and certain Carib words. We doubt not but that researches of this kind will ultimately establish upon a firm basis, the assertion of the Bible, that all the human race are descended from one pair.

Another curious statement respects the Indians found in California, or New Mexico, in the province of Sonora, called the White Indians or Munchies, who are far superior to other Indian tribes. In the same province, are found the Navijos, "possessing a civilization of their own," and having never yielded to Spanish authority. The arts of weaving and dying are understood among them, and there is much reason to believe them identical with the ancient Aztecs or those semi-civilized races found in Mexico, by Cortez, at the time of its first discovery. Such is the opinion of Baron Humboldt, and the tradition of the Indians themselves, favors this opinion.

The account of the vast region between the Rocky mountains, Upper California, and Oregon, by Col. Fremont, of the U. S. Corps of Engineers, has been pretty generally read, while the explorations made by Mr. Hillert, in the isthmus of Panama, have done much to show the best mode of constructing a canal and railroad across the isthmus of Darien. He has examined many plants in that region, and describes an anti-venomous herb, with which, if the hands be rubbed, scorpions, &c., may be handled with impunity. This gentleman has discovered some ancient monumental edifices, besides an ancient canal cut through the solid rock in the interval between the rivers Atrato and Darien.

The researches in Greenland too, (a country first discovered in 877, and colonized in 986,) have been greatly extended by the labors of the Rev. George T. Joergensen, at the firths of Igalikko and Tunnudluarbik, where important ruins are situated. In vol. III. of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, may be found a vast deal pertaining to this subject, from which it appears that Greenland too abounds in ancient ruins of much interest. The "*Scripta Historia Islandorum*," by the same society, gives much valuable information in regard to Iceland, Greenland, and other northern regions. Sir John Franklin spent at least two years in the Arctic regions, and the Hudson's Bay Company have fitted out an expedition to the same end. Also the Hon. Albert Gallatin and Mr. Hale, philologist of the United States' Exploring Expedition, have employed their pens in regard to the Indian tribes beyond the Rocky mountains. The latter has issued a volume, entitled "*Ethnology and Philology*." In South America, a French expedition under Count Castlenau, has been for three years engaged in examining the country between Rio Janeiro and Goyaz, on the head waters of the river Araguay, the desert of the Chavantes, the diamond mines near Cuyaba, the sources of the Paraguay and Arenos, and a tribe of Indians called Guatos,

a remarkably beautiful race, having large eyes with long lashes, a long black beard and aquiline noses, and wearing hats made of hides.

The Count traversed also the country between Paraguay and Brazil, and examined the great lake Uberava, the limits of which have not yet been defined by geographers. From this place, he proceeded to Vera Cruz, Chuquisaca in Bolivia, Potosi and Lima. In Peru, Senor Nieto has discovered certain ruins in the province of Chachapoyas, of which "the principal edifice is stated to be an immense wall of hewn stone 3600 feet in length, 560 feet in width, and 100 feet high. It is solid in the interior and level on the top, upon which is another wall 600 feet in length, of the same breadth and height as the former, and like it solid to its summit. In this elevation, and also in that of the lower wall, are a great many rooms eighteen feet long and fifteen wide, in which are found neatly constructed niches, containing bones of the ancient dead, some naked and some in shrouds or blankets." A plane gradually ascends to its summit, on which is a small watch-tower commanding a view of eleven leagues. The cavities of the adjoining mountain, contained many skeletons wrapped in shrouds made of cotton of various colors. Other expeditions by the English and French governments are about to be sent out, and by this time have probably made many new discoveries.

In Africa, great zeal has been manifested, and the result of the expedition of the Landers, in ascertaining the mouth of the Niger, has led to recent efforts in regard to the sources of the Nile, by M. d'Abaddie, Dr. Beke, Isenberg, and others, but without success. M. Jomard has given a vocabulary of the language of Darfur. Also in Senegal, Mr. Thompson has made some important observations. In a journey performed by Mr. John Duncan, from Cape Coast, through Dahomey, that traveller witnessed a "review of six thousand female troops, well armed and accoutred." A grammar of the Pongwee tongue has been commenced, and it is said that this language is "one of the most perfect of which the missionaries there have any knowledge. It is not so remarkable for copiousness of words, as for its great and almost unlimited flexibility." Considerable discoveries have been made in the interior of Africa, by Mr. James Richardson, M. Raffeneil, of the French navy, and Lieutenant Ruxton, of the Royal navy. Some valuable contributions have been made to our knowledge of Africa, by Mr. Cooley and Mr. Mc-

Queen, in works written by these gentlemen. It is to be regretted that Mr. Maizan, a young officer in the French navy, who set out from Zanzibar, in 1845, and had reached the village of Daguelamohor, was there barbarously murdered by a chief named Pазzy. The desert of Sahara, it seems, has for a long time been erroneously regarded as a barren waste; the name signifying a country of pastures, it being in fact one vast Archipelago of oases or fertile spots. Among the interesting ethnological facts pertaining to Algiers, is that "of a white race inhabiting the Aures mountain, (mons Aurarius,) in the province of Constantine, having blue eyes and flaxen hair, which some believe to be the remains of the Vandals driven from the country by Belisarius. But the most interesting discovery in this part of Africa is, that of the Libyan alphabet, (to which allusion has been already made,) by M. F. De Saulcy, member of the French Institute. "This curious result has been produced by a study of the bilingual inscription on the monument of Thugga, which is published in the first volume of the transactions of the Ethnological Society of New York. The reading of the Phœnician part of this bilingual inscription having been established, the value of the Libyan or Numidian letters of the counterpart, has been as clearly proved as the hieroglyphic part of the Rosetta stone has been established, from a comparison with the Greek text of that bilingual inscription. By this discovery a vast progress has been made in the ethnography and history of ancient Africa. Two facts of the greatest consequence have been established by it:—that the Libyan language was that of Numidia at the early period of its history, when the Phœnicians were settled there; and that the Numidians of that early day, used their own peculiar letters for writing their own language." And it is a remarkable fact, that the Tuarycks, or present Numidian or Berber race, inhabiting the desert of Sahara, make use of these same characters at the present day. For this discovery also, we are indebted to M. De Saulcy. There is reason to believe that the Berber tongue was the original language of that region, and coeval with the ancient Egyptian.

In Madagascar, important results have been attained by M. Guilian. Several works have appeared or are about to appear, upon this subject, especially those of the above gentlemen and of M. De Froberville.

But by far the most interesting part of Africa, is Egypt, in which since the days of Champollion, astonishing discoveries have been

made in reference to the hieroglyphics used in ancient days, in that country; and the page of history has consequently received much light. And it is a delightful fact, (although it is one which every Christian confidently anticipated,) that the statements of the inspired penmen have found signal confirmation. We regret, however, to see an apparent *tendency*, (to say the least,) in some men, who rank high for learning and genius, towards a chronology at variance with the manifest tenor of inspiration. We know indeed, that the chronology established by Archbishop Usher, is not necessarily absolutely correct; but we deem it impossible that the period of 4004 years, usually allowed for the interval between the Creation and the birth of Christ, can be consistently extended to more than 6000 or 7000 years. But we are still more concerned, when we see a man of the learning and ability of Mr. George R. Gliddon, who has done so much to give us an interest and delight in the subject of Egyptian antiquities, favoring the idea, unless we have mistaken his meaning, that Moses, the inspired historian, did little more than give us those traditionary notions of the Supreme Being, which had been handed down from the earliest ages of the world, and preserved by the Egyptians. We do not pretend to deny that *some* things recorded in the Bible, as matters of history, were known to the Egyptians, and that Moses, being skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, has related some facts thus derived; but we do assert, that he was indebted to the Spirit of God for the power of discerning the truth from mere traditional falsehood; and also, that the main part of the Pentateuch was a direct revelation from God.

The immense work published by Napoleon, has been followed by those of Champollion, under the French government, and of Rossellini, by the Tuscan government. Besides these, is the great work of Lepsius, who has brought from Egypt the result of three years' laborious explorations, at the expense of the king of Prussia. The French have also sent out M. Prisse for a new survey and exploration of Egypt.

"As regards the eminent men who have won brilliant distinction in the career of Egyptian studies, it must suffice to state, that all have marched boldly along the road opened by Champollion; and that the science which owed its first illustration to Young, to the Champollions, to the Humboldts, to Salvolini, to Rossellini, to Nestor L'Hote, and to whose soundness the great De Sacy has furnished his testimony, counts at this day as adepts and ardent cultivators

such scholars as Letrone, Biot, Prisse, Bunsen, Lepsius, Burnouf, Pauthier, Lanci, Birch, Wilkinson, Sharpe, Bonomi, and many more." Quite recently, Prof. Schwartz, of Berlin, has been engaged in publishing a work on Egyptian philology, entitled "*Das Alte Ägypten*." De Saulcy too, has made great advance in decyphering the demotic text of the Rosetta stone. This stone, as most are aware, is a block of black basalt, found by Mons. Bouchard, a French officer of engineers, in August, 1799, when digging the foundations of fort St. Julien, between Rosetta and the sea, containing an inscription in three different characters, the Greek, the hieroglyphic, and the demotic, or common language of the Egyptians. By a comparison of the Greek with the other inscriptions, the value of the different hieroglyphic characters was slowly, and at length, satisfactorily unfolded; and it was found that each symbol represented a letter of the alphabet: as, for instance, the figure of an eagle stood for *a*, this being the first letter of the word *akkom*, which, in common parlance, meant an eagle.

A discovery has recently been made by Arthur de Riviere, at Cairo, who having separated the leaves of an ancient Coptic manuscript, found that, in addition to a portion of the Old Testament, it contained a work on the religion of the ancient Egyptians. These discoveries have enabled us to read the inscriptions on the obelisks, statues, sarcophagi, &c., of the Egyptians, and have thrown much light on some hitherto very obscure portions of ancient history.

We owe much to the lectures and chapters of Mr. George R. Gliddon, who has rendered the study of Egyptian antiquities familiar by his admirable illustrations of monuments and sculptures. In regard to chronology, our author well remarks, "we do not fear these investigations—truth will prevail, and its attainment can never be detrimental to the highest interests of man;" and we may add, will always be found on the side of the Bible.

A similar discovery has lately been made in Lycia, in Asia Minor, a country often mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as by inspired penmen. Captain Beaufort had discovered many ruins on the coast, and in 1838 and 1840, Sir Charles Fellows visited the interior, and found it rich in historical monuments, the remains of amphitheatres, churches, cathedrals, temples, aqueducts, and sepulchres; and a pointed arch was found, of a description of which the ancients had previously been supposed to be ignorant. But the most interesting discovery was that of a "bilingual inscription, in

Lycian and Greek, and similar inscriptions subsequently discovered, which have furnished sufficient materials for ascertaining the values of the several letters of the alphabet, which consists of twenty-seven letters, two of which are still doubtful. Able disquisitions on the language have been written by Mr. Sharpe and Prof. Grotefend." In one of these inscriptions, the name of Harpagus, or his son, appears, who lived about 530, B. C. "The language belongs to the same family as the Zend and old Persian." It is thought that this language was introduced by Cyrus, when he subjected the country. Herodotus, in speaking of the subjugation of Lycia by Cyrus and Harpagus, says: "When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and though inferior in numbers, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children and valuable effects into the citadel, and there consumed the whole in one immense fire. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, *the whole are foreigners*, eighty families excepted." And a still more interesting discovery has been made in Persia, of the meaning of the arrow-headed inscriptions which had so long baffled the efforts of antiquarians. For more than twenty centuries, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia have been a mere blank on the page of history, and all that had been known of them was the brief account contained in Scripture and given by the Greek historians. So literally have the prophecies been fulfilled in regard to Babylon, that nothing but vast heaps of rubbish of tumuli, and traces of numerous canals, remains. Extensive ruins have been found also at Persepolis, Pasargadæ, and Nineveh. M. Grotefend and De Sacy made the first successful attempts to decypher some of the arrow-headed inscriptions found among the ruins of Persepolis. At this place is a large ancient edifice, containing many inscriptions; one in particular, placed over the portrait of a king, as was sufficiently evident from his dress. M. Grotefend naturally conjectured that this inscription contained the name and titles of this king, stating at the same time, the name of his father, as was common in ancient inscriptions. "These names could not be Cyrus and Cambyzes, as the two names did not begin with the same letter;" nor Cyrus and Artaxerxes, as the latter name is too long for the inscription, and the former too short. There remained, therefore, only the names of Darius and Xerxes, of the dynasty of the Achæmenides (to which age the edifice was naturally referred). As the ancient Greek does

not give the precise phonetic value of names, it was necessary to ascertain the true sound as derived from the Zend language, formerly spoken in Persia, which is *Kshershe* for Xerxes, and *Dareush* for Darius; also he found that *Kshe* or *Ksheio* meant "king." The groups of characters corresponding with these names were then analysed and the value of each character ascertained. It was found in fine, "that various combinations of a mark, shaped like a wedge or arrow-head, together with one produced by the union of two wedges, constitute the system of writing employed by the ancient Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and the Achæmenian kings of Persia." M. Grotefend's labors were succeeded by those of Professor Rask, who added two characters to the alphabet; also by those of M. Burnouf, Prof. Lassen and Major Rawlinson. The last named gentleman applied his mind to the great Behistun tablet, in Persia, and by a knowledge of the Zend and Sanscrit, succeeded to a wonderful degree in translating these ancient records, and in presenting "a correct grammatical translation of nearly four hundred lines of cuneiform writing, a memorial of the time of Darius Hystaspes;" and "this great inscription is sculptured in three languages and in three different forms of the arrow-head character. In the midst of these records, is a piece of sculpture in relief, representing Darius followed by two of his officers, with his foot upon a man, who raises his hands before him, and nine other figures representing the rebellious leaders whom he had severally conquered, connected by a rope around their necks and having their hands tied behind them." Professor Westergaard has added much to these discoveries. At Nineveh, very interesting researches have been made by MM. Botta and Flandin. The mound examined, contained a series of halls and chambers, the walls of which were covered with paintings. "The men were more athletic than the Egyptians, wearing long hair combed smooth over the top of the head and curled behind. The beard is also long and curled. Their dresses are exceedingly rich, and profuse in ornaments and trimmings." Mr. Layard also laid open a mound of much larger size, and found it "to contain a palace consisting of many rooms, covered with sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions. Among them is a pair of winged lions with human heads, the execution of which is admirable." These labors of Mr. Layard have been continued, and "he has opened fourteen chambers and uncovered two hundred and fifty sculptured slabs. They afford a complete history of the military art of the Assyrians,

and prove their intimate knowledge of many of those machines of war whose invention is attributed to the Greeks and Romans; such as the battering ram, the tower moving on wheels, and the catapult." Only a small part of this vast mound has yet been explored. These discoveries have remarkably confirmed the accounts both of the ancient Grecian and sacred historians.

Arabia, called in Scripture, Hazarmaveth, notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Greek and Roman authors, had been for a long time much neglected; but an interest was awakened by the celebrated Pococke, in 1650, and perpetuated by such men as Lieut. Wellsted, Capt. Haines, Adolphe Baron Wrede, M. Arnaud, M. Fresnel, and Rev. T. Brockman. These men have made us acquainted with many interesting facts, especially in regard to places in the valley called Wadi Doun, and in reference to the Himyaritic inscriptions, an alphabet of which has been nearly if not quite constructed by comparing the inscriptions with the Himyaritic alphabets, in some Arabic manuscripts, and with the present Ethiopic alphabet. The *Cane Emporium* of Ptolemy, and the *Caripeta* of Pliny seem to be satisfactorily ascertained.

It appears also that "M. Grigorowitsch, professor of the Slavonic tongues in the Imperial University of Kasan, has returned, after two years' journey in the interior of Turkey, bringing with him facsimiles of many hundred inscriptions, and 2138 Slavonian manuscripts, 450 of which are said to be very ancient and of great importance." Also an exploration has lately been made of the steppes of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and of Southern Russia. We are indebted also to Mr. Brooke and Capt. Keppel, for important facts concerning the Dyaks of Borneo, who are the aboriginal inhabitants of that island, and to Count de Strzelecki, Capt. Stokes, Dr. Leichardt, and others, for valuable information respecting Australia.

In Siberia, the labors of Prof. Von Middendorff stand conspicuous, from which it appears that the inhabitants are partly of Finnish and Mongol descent. In India, the labors of Missionaries are too well known to need an enumeration here, and the decline of Buddhism and the extension of Christianity, are cheering facts in relation to Siam. "The vast regions of Manchuria, lying north of Corea, are inhabited by various tribes, speaking different dialects, and subsisting principally by hunting and fishing. Their written characters are derived from the Mongols, but have undergone many changes." The journey of the Rev. Mr. Hue into Mongolia, shows that "this

vast country, covering a million of square miles, consists of barren deserts and boundless steppes. The people live in tents without any permanent residence." The inhabitants of the Loo Choo Islands, are intimately connected with the Japanese. Their language is the same, (with unimportant variations of dialect,) and Chinese letters and literature are in like manner cultivated by both. In personal appearance, however, the two people are very unlike. The Japanese, Coreans, Chinese, and Cochin Chinese, owing to the common language used, have been called the *Chinese language nations*. "The Chinese ascribe the invention of their characters to Tsang Kieh, one of the principal ministers or scholars in the reign of Hwangti, about 2650 years before Christ. The characters first depicted, were the common objects in nature, such as the sun, animals, a house, &c., and were probably drawn with sufficient accuracy to be detected without much, if any explanation. They were all described in outline, and generally with far less completeness than the Egyptian symbols, and none of them contained any clue to the sound, and were all monosyllabic. The necessity of incorporating some clue to the sound of the thing or idea denoted, became more and more evident. But not only was the increase of inhabitants, as we suppose, a reason for making the symbols phonetic; the need of reducing the ever growing list, and the difficulty of distinguishing between species of the same genus, and things of the same sort, was a still stronger motive. This was done by the combination of a leading type with some other well understood character, chosen quite arbitrarily, but possessing the *same sound* as the new object to be represented. These remarks will perhaps explain the general composition of Chinese characters. But by far the greater part of them are now formed either of the original pictorial symbols greatly modified, or of those joined to each other in a compound character, partly symbolical and partly phonetic. The former part is called the *radical*, the latter the *primitive*. Out of 24,235 characters, (nearly all the different ones there are in the language,) 21,810 of them are phonetic," and are to be learned by committing the sound as received from an instructor.

A remarkable Syrian monument was found A. D. 1625, in China, covered with rubbish, commemorative of the progress of Christianity in China, and is believed to be the work of a Christian missionary. It was erected in the year 718 of the Christian era.

In conclusion, we would remark, that the method adopted in the

review of our author, was the only one which seemed adapted to give the reader an idea of the contents of this highly interesting book. We have sometimes quoted the precise language of the author, sometimes have given the substance of his remarks, (as far as could be done in so brief a space,) and have sometimes interspersed remarks of our own. We know of no book containing so much on this subject within the same compass as the volume before us; and where no direct information is given in the text, we are referred to a list of the best authors on the topics treated. The arrangement of the subject is systematic, and the style of the author chaste and perspicuous.

PRINCETON, N. J.

G. W. S.

ART. IX.—ANGLING FOR TROUT.

IN the *Complete Angler*, on no occasion doth Izaak Walton wax more frolicsome and fond of poetry, than when discoursing with his companion and disciple concerning trout. It is immediately after the capture of one of these delectable fishes and inspirers of his fancy, that on his way with his proselyte and scholar towards Bleak-hall, to spend the night, he plyeth and induceth the milkmaid and her mother, whom he hath encountered in the field a-milking, to regale them with two or three of their choicest ballads; and when arrived at the inn, it is after having partaken of that same trout, with his scholar and two other companions there met, that himself and one of them, Coridon the countryman, throw us off some of their best songs. It was not, certainly, the mere relish of the served up trout, in itself considered, which excited, either anticipatively or from reminiscence, the old gentleman's fancy. Of good eating he was properly fond, I am willing to acknowledge; but he was certainly none of your gourmands nor epicures. Neither was it the mere external beauty of the fish abstractedly beheld, its fresh bloom when first plucked from the waters—though, of course, for

this he had an eye—that inspired him with all his cheerfulness and merriment on the occasion. The gratification from this source he places behind even that of its gusto. “Come, my friend Coridon,” he cries aloud at the table, “the trout looks lovely; it was twenty-two inches when it was taken, and the belly of it looked some part of it as yellow as a marigold, and part of it white as a lily; and yet, methinks, it looks better in this good sauce.”

Its rich associations then for the old gentleman, some one will suggest, were perhaps derived from the skill displayed in its capture. What dexterity and circumspection are required to draw out one of these sly lurkers from their native element, especially if you essay it with a fly! What care must be employed in the preparation of the accoutrements beforehand! How suitably to the season, the water and the whims of the versatile fish, must be adapted the color and pliancy of the rod and line, and the wings and shape of the artificial insect! What adroitness is required for the continual casting and recovering of your fly, so as to impart to it that rapid, quivering motion which seemeth to tickle the water's surface, and which to effect, methinks, mere art cannot teach, but yourself must be qualified in part by nature! Then, in fine, when your efforts are crowned with success; when at length the desperate fish springing up siezeth the lure and is diving off with it again towards its old haunts, but is suddenly checked by the tension of your line, and drawn along slowly but surely, fluttering and floundering, towards your eager hand, how complete the joy! How exquisite the consummation!

The fact is, however, Izaak Walton was no fly-fisher. That activity and continual watchfulness to the absorption of the whole man, required in order to succeed in this mode of angling, were not in accordance with his contemplative habits. He was better pleased with your stationary or sedentary fishing. Having cast his line into the water, he delighted rather to stand on the bank, holding his rod horizontally, himself upright and immovable as a statue; or having fixed it on a forked supporter as a fulcrum, with a stone on the grounded butt end, to keep it firm, he chose rather to step back and cast himself carelessly and shepherd-like *sub tegmine fagi*; or, mayhap, should a spring shower be passing over, to recline beneath a protecting honey-suckle hedge, musing alone, or conversing with some Melibæan companion concerning the beauty and grandeur of the works of nature and Providence. On this account, therefore,

it was that he was fond of trout; because that fish frequents always the most pellucid streams, and such, of course, as are overshadowed by the most bewitching scenery. Having a poet's eye, therefore, it is no wonder that, like a poet, he had his favorite haunts and dilections of rural places. As on the Doon, Alloway's old haunted kirk, and on the Ouse, Olney with its lofty spire, have been forever consecrated by the poetry of Burns and Cowper, so on the Lea, Amwellbury, with its surrounding scenery, remains forever hallowed by the graphic prose delineations of Izaak Walton. In a poem descriptive of that beautiful village thus singeth John Scott, Esq., 1782:

It little yields
Of interesting art to swell the page
Of history or song; yet much the soul
Its sweet simplicity delights, and oft
From noise of busy towns to fields and groves
The muses' sons have fled to find repose.
Famed Walton, erst th'ingenious fisher swain,
Oft our fair haunts explored; upon Lea's shore,
Beneath some green tree oft his angle laid,
His sport suspending to admire their charms.

To the American editor of the *Complete Angler*, for the bibliographical information bestowed in his preface, and the additional charm thrown around, not only the book itself, but the art which it teaches, by his superadded lore and instruction, every lover of angling and poetry must feel himself forever obligated. Nevertheless I cannot help expressing my regret that he has shewn us so little of himself in his descriptions; that he has not permitted us to detect some of his own partialities and characteristics, as we certainly would have done had he described more fully some of his favorite American streams and inland fishing places.

I am aware, however, that our largest streams, unlike those of the same class in England, are not frequented by trout. These fish with us are like naiads. They prefer to be near the fountain heads. They are to be met with only in our retired brooks and clear branches of creeks. A bard or angler, therefore, I must admit, who neglecting our magnificent rivers, would bestow on these his descriptions, instead of bringing them thereby into notice, would, more likely, be left himself unnoticed on account of their insignificance.

I know not how my taste will be regarded after the confession, but I must say, that I have always had a liking for the diminutive

in waters. From my boyhood I still retain a sort of sneaking partiality for brooks, rivulets and milldams. Your mighty rivers, with their surrounding grandeur, fill my soul, like any other's, with awe and admiration; but the innocuous, retired brooks lay hold on my affections. Wanting they are, it is true in majesty and might, but about them, methinks, is more of playfulness and beauty. In the breast of a mill-dam is sympathy with even the touch of a swallow's wing, the springing up of a trout or the leaping in of a grasshopper. Of all streams too containing trout—while at confessing I may as well speak it out—with none am I better acquainted and perhaps more smitten, than with one of little note, which sometimes I visit in my vernal holidays, secreted in the heart of Cumberland county, in the State of Pennsylvania, known by the unpretending name of *Big Spring*.

Thus named I imagine it has been from the potent but noiseless gush with which at its source it issues up from beneath the base of a woody hill, filling at once a mill-dam and putting in motion a grist mill only a few paces below. Indeed its whole pilgrimage, being northward and nearly three miles before it reaches the Conodoguinet, is made up of dams at considerable distances, each backing up its water almost to the base of the next above; whereby, whilst in reality one of the most hard-working little streams in the county, it has imparted to it withal the appearance of indolent repose. *Big Spring* is it called throughout its course, I suppose, on account of its continued spring-like lucidness, and mayhap to distinguish it *par excellence* from other minor fonts oozing into it occasionally from its limestone ledgy sides. Above its last dam, that calm sheet of water, at any rate to an observer from its eastern bank, is the most instructive, bending around and reflecting the opposite graveyard, as, with its many slabs and headstones, it rises gently up towards the old stone church that tops the hill, behind which lies unseen and almost unheard, the little bustling village of Newville.

As by the rivers of Babylon the sweet singers hanged their harps, brought from Judea, upon the willows in the midst thereof, so, not in sorrow but in gladness, not around the pendent but sprightly willows and other trees along the banks of *Big Spring*, do I always feel disposed to throw, at least so far as suitable, derived from other sources, all my piscatory songs and associations.

Apart from public travel for many years this stream had lain secreted, the turnpike road, then the great thoroughfare through the

valley, passing along some distance above its source. At present, however, by the bridge on which rests the railway of later construction, it is sped over about a quarter of a mile above Newville. Across this the majority of passengers, on other things intent, are whirled unknowingly. By the watchful angler in the Spring, however, its proximity is ever sweetly felt. While the cars, at the depot hard by, stop for being replenished with wood and water, out he letteth himself carefully with his fishing accoutrements and tackle, and while standing before the inn adjoining he catcheth of its bright waters below and the tops of the willows near, delightful glimpses, off whirling the while the cars and leaving him behind, he carroleth forth or whistleth to himself, in the plenitude of his joy, some such ode as this from the "Angling Remeniscences" of Stoddard:

Sing, sweet thrushes, forth and sing!
Meet the morn upon the lea;
Are the emeralds of spring
On the angler's trysting tree?
Tell, sweet thrushes, tell to me!
Are there buds on our willow tree?
Buds and birds on our trysting tree?

Sing, sweet thrushes, forth and sing!
Have ye met the honey bee
Circling upon rapid wing
Round the angler's trysting tree?
Up, sweet thrushes, up and see!
Are there bees at our willow tree?
Birds and bees at the trysting tree?

Sing, sweet thrushes, forth and sing!
Are the fountains gushing free?
Is the south wind wandering
Through the angler's trysting tree?
Up, sweet thrushes, tell to me!
Is there wind up our willow tree?
Wind or calm at our trysting tree?

Sing, sweet thrushes, forth and sing!
Wile us with a merry glee,
To the flowery haunts of spring,
To the angler's trysting tree.
Tell, sweet thrushes, tell to me!
Are there flowers 'neath our willow tree?
Spring and flowers at the trysting tree?

But "good wine needs no bush," and Big Spring needs no willows to draw customers after her trout. The fact is, she has always had too many customers for the safety and preservation of her fish. To protect these, therefore, many years ago public interference was necessary. Wherefore, then enacted it was by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the law continueth still in full force, that no angler shall cast a line into these waters save only during those four gentle, summer months, whose names are not roughened with an *r*. Moreover, as this was hardly sufficient, even during this favored season, the proprietors of mill-dams still extend their kind protection over certain select portions of these, within their jurisdiction, forbidding to angle therein all strollers save only themselves.

To your fully equipt angler, however, I must say, with his landing-net, his ferules and his creels, and what not, who cometh up mayhap from Philadelphia, the hospitable proprietor of the mill-dam is ever gracious, revoking for the time all restrictions, and furnishing him with his flat-boat and every useful information besides, remarking, however, I must confess, to some bystander, when the bold aspirant has pushed off into the deep, that with such paraphernalia he never saw much harm done to the fishes. To the home-bred fly-fisher, however, with his well-spliced rod, without any extra trappings, who is familiar with every nook and crook in the stream and the habits of the trout besides, he is not always so complaisant. Him, should he apply for his boat, he will often put off with excuses, saying that it is sadly out of repair, or, mayhap, that himself or some of his boys think of launching it out presently for fishing a little themselves.

Among these domestic anglers stands pre-eminent, being six feet and some inches in his shoes, the portly colored gentleman ycleped Joe. Loitering along the stream he may be seen, of any pleasant summer day, with his rod in hand and so noiseless in his tread that even the turtles, basking on the sunny sides of fallen logs protruded from the water's surface, do not care to edge themselves down side-long into their protecting element as he passes by, so familiar has he become to their fancies. Fortunate is the zealous youth whom he receiveth under his tutelage, for he will certainly bring him forth in the end a complete fly-fisher. His first lessons he doth not permit his pupil to practice on the water; but taking him up into a high clover-field apart, he letteth him expend his fury, in the first place, on the clover-heads, to the alarm and scattering merely of

the grasshoppers or, mayhap, of some startled hogs in the adjoining field. Then conducting him down again, his second exercises he putteth him through over some stagnant recess of the dam frequented only by bull-frogs and water-turtles. It is not till after his having acquired some agility of hand and delicacy of touch, that he permitteth him to tickle, with his properly adapted rod and fly, the surface of the water within whose depths are gamboling the wary trout. Some of the best anglers in the county, who visit this stream in its season, owe their present proficiency in a great measure to the first lessons in this way imparted by honest Joe, the colored Izaak Walton of Big Spring.

For my own part, when I go a-fishing, I generally contrive to place myself under the care of one of the practised anglers of the neighborhood, some of whom I have the pleasure of reckoning among my choicest friends; and while he on the water performs the agile part of the business, as I am really "no fisher but a well-wisher of the game," I make out, however, on the bank to do the contemplative. Admirably adapted have I always found the stream, at any rate in the fishing season, from its fountain-head throughout, for inspiring sprightly thoughts and in some places also pensive. On the sequestered eastern bank especially, above the lowermost dam, it has often struck me that even Izaak Walton, were he still living and with us, would throw himself, in the spring season, with pleasure beneath its broad oaks, conning over some of his gravest madrigals. Not a shower nor a weeping willow would he need there to render him properly melancholy. The graveyard opposite would be sufficient.

———"Or we sometimes pass an hour
Under a green willow,
That defends us from a shower,
Making earth our pillow;
Where we may
Think and pray,
Before death
Stops our breath;
Other joys
Are but toys,
And to be lamented."

Not painfully melancholy, however, on a placid summer's eve, are the thoughts suggested on that bank by the opposite graveyard

and church. Indeed, on the contrary, as they are shone over by the mellow fading twilight and we look down at their reflected images in the water, our musings become pleasingly pensive. They are lighted up with joy and hope, and we can almost fancy that beneath the tombs we are permitted to have, through hallowed openings, a soft, refreshing glimpse into the secret, peaceful Hades of the blessed.

W. M. N.*

ART. X.—SARTORIUS ON THE PERSON AND WORK OF CHRIST.

1. *Die Lehre von Christi Person und Werk in populären Vorlesungen vorgetragen von ERNST SARTORIUS, Doctor der Theologie. Fünfte Auflage. Hamburg, 1845.*
2. *The Person and Work of Christ. By Ernest Sartorius, D. D., General Superintendent and Consistorial Director at Königsberg, Prussia. Translated by Rev. Oakman S. Stearns, A. M., Boston, 1848.*

THE second work here named offers itself to the world, as a translation of the first. If by a translation, however, we are to understand a true transfer of the sense and spirit of a book out of one language into another, it is wholly a misnomer to apply the term to this case. The original work of Sartorius is one which comes up in full, both in sentiment and style, to the wide reputation, which has carried it in Germany through five editions, and made it a favorite with all who take an interest in practical piety under a manly and substantial form. No one can read it understandingly, without admiration and respect; and the heart must be dull indeed, that is not made to kindle, under its simple though profound devotional eloquence, into some corresponding

* Writer of "The Apple as a Criterion of Taste," in No. I., the signature having been inadvertently omitted.—PUB.

glow of christian edification. But of all this, it would be hard to form any conception from Mr. Stearns' *translation*. This is neither elegant, nor intelligent, nor edifying. A most lame, clumsy performance throughout, it presents no single attraction either in thought or expression, no redeeming quality whatever, save in the broken fragments of truth and beauty that still look forth here and there upon the beholder, in spite of the general desolation with which the work has been overwhelmed as a whole. It is indeed Sartorius *in ruins* ; a spectacle, whose remains of greatness serve only to render more affectingly sad, the chaotic dreariness in which its exhibition mainly consists. Murderous translations are by no means uncommon ; but we have seldom met with one which could be said more effectually to kill the life of the author it pretends to honor, in this way.

In the first place, Mr. Stearns evidently has had no sufficient knowledge of the German language, and no proper mastery of the English either, to do justice to any undertaking of this sort. His own English, as we have it in his short preface, is anything but easy and smooth. Were his knowledge of the German ever so complete, he lacks altogether the freedom and pliancy of style that are required to make a good translator. But he has brought with him no such advantage to his task. It is only a smattering acquaintance with German, he can be said to possess at best. His knowledge of the language shows itself to be throughout, mechanical, superficial, and in a great measure merely external. He has never entered at all into its true genius and life ; its idiomatic soul remains, to a great extent, foreign from the view of his understanding. Still less can he be said to be at home, in the peculiarities of German thought. There is not a page of his translation accordingly, we might say indeed hardly a sentence in its connections, which does not betray some want of insight, more or less, into the true living sense of the original work. Take as a specimen, the following extract, which is made to pass for the preface of Sartorius to the last German edition :

“Several years have passed away since the first appearance of this little volume, and now the Fifth Edition is deemed necessary by the continual demand for it. It is absolutely necessary

that the doctrine of the incarnation, by the union of divinity and humanity in it, and the re-union of both by it, which was rejected by many theologians out of the historical churches, and had become foreign to and far from the educated and uneducated in general, should be transferred in this artless, familiar manner, from the department of learned theology, to the more common orbit of faith and life, and should be brought to the Christian conscience of readers of every grade, as the basis of all Christianity and of all salvation. Great storms have been raised during this time respecting the proper field of the church, and they have been particularly directed against this fundamental doctrine. They have endeavored to turn away the testimony of the church and its judgement, thereby expecting to tear it asunder and destroy it. Some have spoken of the incarnate Jesus as the Lord of humanity, in the loose generalities of the multitude, and thereby robbed him of the excellence by which he was to increase to a confederate head, and by which he should become the reconciler of everything which sin had separated, even the fountain of life and love from which every favor and power of renovation should flow. He has a very narrow conception of the thing who expects to remove from Christ the concentration of the fulness of the Godhead. He most assuredly misunderstands himself, because if in him all fulness dwells, every favor, even grace for grace must come from him, and by means of him we become partakers of the divine nature.

"These storms, however, have to a great degree blown over or turned out to be mere wind. Indeed, the church has strengthened itself, established itself, and made itself fast during the roar of the storm, clinging the more tenaciously to the reconciliation of heaven and earth by faith in Jesus Christ, the mighty God eternally generated from the Father, and the mighty man generated from the virgin Mary. This union of time and eternity cannot be removed. The denial of the divinity of Christ humbles him to an idol or a demi-god, and leads to a heathenish idolatry, or it degrades him to a mere man, and thereby sinks his religion behind Judaism. Very evidently everything spiritual and human becomes him who is the king of the heavenly kingdom, who was exalted from the cross to the right hand of the majesty, not to conquer, but to receive the name which the Father has given, by virtue of which he shall obtain the homage of both angels and men.

"In spite of the stormy movements of the time, therefore, while the world renews the evidence of the Scriptures and the church respecting the Son of God, and the Son of man the mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ our Lord, who though in the image of God, humbled himself, and took upon himself the

form of a servant, was obedient to the death of the cross, and from his humiliation is now exalted for us over all the world to his praise and for our salvation, this discussion will remain immovable by the side of that which is old and unchangeable. Neither the contents nor the form of this little book ought to suffer any material change. The circumstances of the time seem to demand the very same things. Indeed, they present themselves as another proper occasion for giving the book both in Germany and in other lands, by means of translations, a larger circle of readers. Its design is to meet not so much the wants of a theological public as those of a Christian public. Accordingly, the Fifth edition appears with every essential correspondence to the earlier ones. As I would not, however, omit any amount of care manifest in the other editions, I have inserted when and where it was proper, individual additions and emendations, and thereby increased the pages somewhat.

“May this work receive the blessing of him concerning whom it treats. May it receive the sanction of the Lord who renovated the condition of the world by reconciling it to himself. May it aid in establishing the Christian reader upon the precious cornerstone, without which every church organization founded upon some other basis than the rock of confession, which was first testified to by the apostles before the Lord gave to them the shutting up of the heavenly kingdom, is founded only upon the sand. This is the first and chief thing to be done by the church, that worshipping in the name of Jesus, every knee may bow, and every tongue confess that he is the Lord to the glory of God the Father.”

To be properly estimated, this should be compared with the original German text. As however a large part of our readers must be supposed unable to try it in that way, we subjoin the true sense of the original in a different version. It will be easy to see, by the comparison, first that the “translation” just quoted has in part no clear sense whatever; and secondly, that such sense as it has, is materially different from that intended by Sartorius:

“Fourteen years have elapsed since the first appearance of these lectures, of which the continued demand now calls for a *fifth* edition. The doctrine of the *God-man*, of the union of divinity and humanity in him, and the reconciliation of both through him, (a doctrine by many theologians long since thrust out of the church into mere history, and that had grown strange to the Christian community, cultivated as well as uncultivated,) by these unpretending lectures, came forth again from the sphere

of scientific theology into more general contact with faith and life, and was anew brought nigh to the christian consciousness of readers of every standing as the foundation on which christianity with its whole salvation rests. Great storms have swept since that time, over the field of the Church, and have directed their strength in particular against this foundation, bearing witness thus to its true character in this view, while seeking to unsettle it, and so to overthrow the church built upon it. It has been pretended to dissolve the God-man Jesus, the Lord of humanity, into the loose generality of the human race; robbing this thus of the head, from which the whole should grow up into a well compacted body, (Eph. iv. 15f,) of the mediator through whom is to be reconciled all that has been separated by *sin*, (Col. i. 20,) and of the fountain of life and love from which all should draw grace and power of renovation. The concentration of the fulness of the Godhead in the One Christ, (Col. ii. 9,) it was affected to set aside as something poor and narrow; while in truth such judgment was itself too narrow to see, how all fulness dwells in *him* for this reason precisely, that all may receive thence grace for grace, and become through *him* partakers of the divine nature (John i. 16; 2 Pet. i. 4).

“Those storms have to a great extent blown over, or are sunk at least into common winds; in the midst of their raging, however, the Church visibly gained strength, planting herself with new and more firm resolution on the rock of her all-reconciling faith in Jesus Christ, ‘true God begotten of the Father in eternity and also true man born of the Virgin Mary.’ She cannot recede from this ground which binds eternity and time into one; since the denial of Christ’s divinity either sinks him to the character of an idol or demi-god, leading in this way to heathenish idolatry, or else reduces him to a mere man, and so falls back into Judaism. Assuredly all the spiritual and fleshly powers of the world will be found unable to prevail over the king Messiah who has been exalted from the cross to the right hand of majesty, or to take from him the name which is given him of the Father, so high and glorious as to compel the homage of angels and men.

“In the face accordingly of all the stormy agitations of the time, these lectures have stood immovably fast to the firmly settled, ancient (though never old, but rather always world-renewing) testimony of the Bible and the Church, concerning the Son of God and of Man, the Mediator between God and man, our Lord Jesus Christ; who being in divine form equal with God, nevertheless emptied himself and took upon him the form of a servant, and became obedient even to the death of the cross, and now is exalted from such humiliation over all the world for his own glory and our salvation (Phil. ii. 5ff). No material

change therefore has been made in the contents of this little volume, as it has passed through different editions, nor even in its form; for this, as it had from outward popular occasion adapted itself to a wide christian rather than theological public, was just what procured for the work its extensive circulation, and this indeed not in Germany only, but by translations also in foreign lands. So this fifth edition also appears in substantial agreement with those which have gone before; only I wished to show my continued interest in the earlier work, and for this reason have introduced single additions and improvements, as it seemed worth while, which have increased somewhat also the number of pages.

“Under his blessing now of whom it treats, under the blessing of the Lord, who has brought into the world not so much a constitution as an atonement, may this little book still farther contribute to build christian readers on that precious foundation and corner-stone, without which all church organization, the great concern of the present time, will be built upon the sand, and not on the rock of that confession, (Matt. xvi. 16ff.) which the Apostles were required first to make, before the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to them by the Lord. This it is which the Church needs first and above all, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow in worship, and every tongue *confess* harmoniously with his people, that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

Koenigsberg, Passion week, 1845.”

This will be sufficient, for all readers, to justify in full the sweeping censure we have allowed ourselves to pronounce on Mr. Stearns' translation. Harsh and exaggerated as the judgment might seem, on first view, it will easily be perceived that it falls not a whit short of the sober truth. The translation is no translation whatever, but a miserable travesty and caricature rather of the respectable work in whose name it appears. It is such a wrong indeed upon the character and reputation of Sartorius, that under any proper system of international literary law, he would be authorized to sue for heavy damages, as a grossly misrepresented and slandered man. “The translation,” we are told in the preface, “is designedly free, and as expressive of the views of the author as the time and means of the translator would allow.” A good translation must be in any case *free*; that is not bound slavishly to the letter at the expense of the spirit and sense. But in the case before us, the freedom is such as flows from weakness and not from strength. It is helplessly, wilfully, and

for this reason slavishly independent. Its liberty stands only in the power it has to go wrong, without understanding the fact. A strange freedom truly, that turns words and sentences continually from their proper sense, misled by its own mechanical dictionary-guided ignorance, and turns an author on every page into a shape, which can hardly be said to reflect a single feature of his native face. If the "time and means" of Mr. Stearns allowed no more than this, it had been better, we think, to turn his resources to some other work. It is no apology for such a wrong as this, that the doer of the work could do it no better. Why should he, in such case, feel bound to try it at all? The world would not have suffered any irreparable loss—Sartorius himself might well have borne the disappointment—if the little book in question had been left to go untranslated; at least till some more competent hand, with proper "time and means," had offered itself for the purpose. The thanks of the translator are tendered, in conclusion, to the Rev. Dr. Sears, President of the Newton Theological Institution, for suggesting the translation, "and for any aid he has generously afforded him during the progress of it." No doubt Dr. Sears recommended the work as worthy of being translated, as any one would who was able to appreciate its value; but it is not to be imagined for a moment, that he is responsible in any way for the character of the translation. He is known to be one of the most accomplished German scholars in the country; and to involve him even indirectly in the endorsement of such a production, must be taken as a wrong to his reputation, only less flagrant than the wholesale slaughter of poor Dr. Sartorius himself. How such a work could pass muster with the common religious press, might seem strange; for it abounds in sentences and entire passages that have no sense whatever, and as a whole is made exceedingly tasteless and dull; but newspaper notices, we all know, are not generally in such cases the fruit of much consideration or care. They go by presumption, far more than by insight. This has been well illustrated, in the present case.*

* Even the scholarly editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, (Dr. M'Clinck, tock,) is so far misled, on the faith probably of the respectable publishing firm, "*Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, Boston*," as to say: "The translation appears to be faithful, and is in general well expressed."

Our interest, however, in this translation is something deeper than its merely literary character. As a bungling attempt to turn a good German author into English, its merits fall so low that it might seem scarcely worth while to make it the subject of criticism; although even in this view there is such a wrong involved in it, as ought not to go unnoticed and unrebuked. But along with the literary defect of this translation, must be taken into consideration also a general theological defect, which goes of course so far as it prevails, to aggravate the other evil. Some illustration of this may be found in the two phases of the preface already presented; which indeed have been given in full, for the purpose partly of bringing into view what is now stated.

The truth is, the religious theory of Mr. Stearns differs very materially from that of the author whose work he has here undertaken to translate. Of this he is himself aware, to some extent. Sartorius, he tells us, is a Lutheran, with certain peculiarities, which he of course, as a New England Baptist, is not prepared to endorse or accept. It is plain enough, however, at the same time, that his sense of such difference between himself and his author, remains always in the end very partial and narrow. The peculiarities in question are taken to be in part verbal only, technical forms of different schools, and, in other cases, mere outward and accidental excrescences, (traditional *crotchets*,) rather than living and necessary elements in the inward constitution of the system to which they belong. It is quietly taken for granted accordingly, that this system is, in all substantial respects, one and the same with that of the translator himself. Mr. Stearns has been honestly persuaded, in his own mind, that his general scheme of evangelical religion is identical with the scheme of Sartorius, and the *evangelical* German school generally, to which he belongs—barring only a few old-fashioned European prejudices, now fast going into disuse; and he has set himself to translate this work, and carried through the undertaking as he best could, without the least imagination probably that he was bending the inward habit of the work throughout to a form of thinking altogether strange and foreign from its own. And yet it is so in fact. Without the least *consciousness* of any such wrong, and much less with any malicious intent to bring it to pass, he has, nevertheless, contrived to surround Sartorius with a theolo-

gical nimbus, or *cloud*, which, so far as it can be seen through at all, makes it very difficult, if not indeed absolutely impossible, for any merely English reader, to catch even a dim outline of his true German person.

The great object of the work, as is shown by the preface to the fifth edition already quoted, is to assert the glorious mystery of the incarnation, with its necessary consequences, as the one only sure and immovable foundation of religion, over against the rationalistic and pantheistic errors, with which it has been opposed, particularly in modern Germany. This mystery is of course accepted by all evangelical bodies in this country also, from the most churchly away out to the most unchurchly, as the foundation of the gospel, in opposition to all sorts of Unitarianism. Mr. Stearns accordingly finds no difficulty, in making common cause with Sartorius, on this ground. A tract on the Person and Work of Christ falls in easily with his theory of religion, as based on the conception of a supernatural redemption wrought out by his death; and no hesitation is felt about taking it in the sense of this theory, leaving all awkward *inconcinnities* to fetch themselves right as they best can. Here, however, is a grand mistake. The mystery of the incarnation in its relation to christianity, is something very different to Sartorius, from all it is made to be, or felt to be, in the Baptistical theology of Mr. Stearns. There is a stress laid upon the fact, a deep sense, a world of significance and force, made to go along with it, in the one case, which come not into view to any similar extent in the other. It is after all a different *christology*, that comes before us in the two cases.

With Sartorius, christianity is a new order of life that has its ground in the christological fact itself. The incarnation is viewed not simply as an outward contrivance, to open the way for the work of redemption, but as the real foundation in which the entire mystery not only starts, but continues also to hold from beginning to end. It is the union of divinity and humanity in Christ, which not simply qualifies him for the work he was appointed to perform, but of itself involves in his person that reconciliation between heaven and earth, God and man, which the idea of redemption requires, and for which there could be no room in any other form. He is in his very constitution our PEACE,

in whom first the sundered worlds just mentioned are made one, for the very purpose of bringing them together afterwards in the way of a general salvation. It is in virtue only of what he is in this view, as the head of our human life, that it becomes possible for the race beyond him, through union with his mystical body and by conjunction with him as its centre and head, to partake also of the divine nature. Thus it is, that "this ground binds eternity and time into one," reconciles heaven and earth, not circuitously and instrumentally only, but immediately and at once, in Jesus Christ. This is very distinctly stated by Sartorius in the preface to the first edition of his work, which it may be well to give here also in full :*

"After the example set by Professor Struve, at the beginning of the year before, the following lectures were delivered during Passion week of the present year, in aid of the poor supported by the Benevolent Society of this place, in the large lecture room of our university, before a mixed audience, which gave them encouraging attention to the close. They are now printed, partly

* Travestied in Mr. Stearns' translation as follows :

"The subject herein discussed was originally presented to a mixed assembly in the form of lectures. Lectures on another subject had already been given by Prof. Struve, by whose very kind assistance and instigation the poor were accommodated during Passion-week in the great lecture-room of our university. I now give them to the public, partly because others desire it, and partly because I myself wish by these unassuming discourses to establish a fixed and determined knowledge of the peculiar evangelical doctrine of salvation, in a larger circle than that in which it is now found, even among such laymen as err concerning true Christianity rather in knowledge than in good will. Of these there are at the present time more than is generally supposed. I have, therefore, discussed the doctrine of the incarnation of the Son of God, the more extensively, because I wished to show intelligibly, that the work of redemption, as connected with the divine benevolence, depends upon a personal union in Christ of divinity and humanity. Moreover, this great doctrine is peculiarly practical and requisite in an age when an unchristian rationalism is striving to destroy it by a foolish indifference, and is making bold efforts to deny the revealed truth of the Bible. This discussion, besides furnishing a correct knowledge to the laity, will, it is hoped, contribute to the purity, importance and completeness of the doctrine as believed by the church, maintaining as it does the only true and self-evident medium between two antagonistic errors. Finally, if the publishing these Lectures shall remove any unavoidable mistake in a single passage during their delivery, or shall give any proof in this time of jealousy with respect to evangelical Christianity, that there is in this doctrine no new-fangled mysticism, but only the firmly-settled Bible-Christianity of our fathers; which is to stand as long as the Augsburg Confession shall have a lawful existence in our church, then my object will be accomplished. Though the times may degenerate, and many may fall away, truth itself never changes, but will continue when the heavens and earth have passed away,"

to satisfy the wish of others, and partly from my own desire that their unpretending form may serve to promote, in more remote circles also, a definite and practical acquaintance with the peculiar saving truths of the gospel, among those of the laity, who are often wanting in right knowledge far more than in good will towards true christianity: and of whom there are more at the present time than is generally supposed. I have accordingly dwelt at large on the doctrine of the incarnation of the Son of God, as I wished to show, for common apprehension, how his work of redemption, together with all his benefits, rests for us throughout upon the union of divinity with humanity in his person; and of what practical moment and how necessary to salvation therefore this great doctrine is, which an unchristian rationalism, with stupid indifference and in plain contradiction to the Bible, is endeavoring to bring out of credit. The work may contribute besides to bring the purity, consistency and completeness of the church doctrine, which ever maintains the alone true and sure medium between opposite errors, into proper acknowledgment also with the laity. Finally, the publication of the lectures will remove any misunderstanding of single passages, such as is unavoidable with mere oral delivery, and furnish clear proof at the same time to such as share the reigning prejudice against evangelical christianity, that no new-fashioned mysticism has been presented here, but only the old, well authenticated bible christianity of our fathers, which alone can claim, as long as the Augsburg Confession stands, a legitimate authority in our Church. However many may have fallen from it, the truth itself is not for this reason fallen, but shall continue to stand when heaven and earth even pass away.

Dorpat, May, 1831.

In carrying out his design, Sartorius dwells at length in the first place, on the nature of the great mystery of godliness, "God manifest in the flesh," the way and manner of the union of divinity with humanity in Jesus Christ, as the basis on which rests the whole superstructure of the christian salvation. In the next place, the value and power of the fact for the purposes of redemption are shown. Finally the process is explained, by which all is made to pass over to the actual benefit of the human race.

The mystery of the incarnation is presented to us, as "the assumption of the human nature by the Son of God into the unity of his person." It throws us back at once on the eternal sonship of Christ, and the doctrine of the divine trinity. This, however, is not absolutely peculiar to revelation. Some trace of

it at least is to be found in philosophy and heathen mythology. The God of the mere deist is a lifeless abstraction. "There is hardly any ancient system of religion, in the East or West, which reveals not some glimmering of the doctrine of the trinity; the traces of it are to be met at the opposite poles, in India and Scandinavia." Peculiar to revelation rather, as its foundation truth, is the announcement that the eternal Word has become flesh, under a personal historical form, in Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of the Virgin Mary. "The latest enemies of christianity, (Dr. Strauss and his followers,) have assailed it by asserting a general incarnation of God in humanity as a whole, in such way as to deny it under an individual separate form in Jesus Christ, nay, to repudiate the idea of this as narrow particularism. This is a gross error, which sees not in the first place, how estranged from God the human race has become by sin, so as to be wholly incapacitated within itself for a re-union with divinity without a mediator; and in the second place, does not consider that, in the perfect Mediator all the fullness of the Godhead dwells, just for this reason, that out of his fullness all may receive grace for grace, John i. 16., and not by any means that it may remain selfishly shut up in his person. So in the body of the sun, light is not concentrated, to remain there fixed, but rather that all the world may be enlightend by it; whereas when many stars twinkle in place of the one orb of day, we have at best but the dusk of night. Into such night dusk would those lead us, who rob the planets of their sun, while in room of the one God-man, who is the Saviour of all and the Light of the world, they affect to proclaim *all* men, and especially, the heroes of the race, an incarnation of deity. They deny both, the personal oneness and glory of Christ, as well as his true universality; for the last consists just in this, that as the *one* divine head of his Church, he comprehends under himself *all* its members, (Eph. iv. 15, 16,) and communicates to them his truth, grace and righteousness, forming them thus into one body. Where on the contrary the royal head is made to fail, the members fall asunder in helpless broken disorder, and there is no room to speak farther of a kingdom of Christ or a Church of God, or of any redemption and salvation of the human race. Here, then, if anywhere, it behooves us to abide by the Scriptures, which in most direct contradiction to this

modern wisdom or folly expressly assure us, Col. i. 19: It pleased the Father that in him (in Jesus Christ) should all fulness dwell; and ii. 9: In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."*

The incarnation under this personal, historical character, is shown to be an act of *free* condescension on the side of God. It implies no essential *change* in the divine nature. At the same time, the human nature assumed by the Son of God, must be allowed to be in all respects real and complete. It was no phantom or show only, but a true body joined with a reasonable soul. Lastly, the union of the two natures, while it leaves them distinct, must be regarded as organic, involving a strict personal unity in the form of a common undivided consciousness. "Without such a personal union of divinity and humanity, no redemption could be accomplished; for the very nature of it stands just in this, that grace brings together what by nature and sin are sundered, namely, God and man; a mere man could of himself as little redeem the world as he could create it; and God of himself, though able to create, uphold and govern the world, cannot either make reconciliation for it, since this requires a union of the sundered parts, and such a free satisfaction for sin as he only can render, who stands at once over the law and under the law. The error before us is accordingly at war with the whole Bible. Throughout, in the entire life of our Lord, we are confronted with only one personality, one *I*, one undivided, though in its contents, most manifold self-consciousness."

Sartorius next considers how the two natures, in this personal union, condition and affect each other. There must be, through the medium of the common consciousness in which they meet, a mutual communication, to some extent, of states and properties. Only so can the divine and human be regarded as coming fully together, in such way as the idea of a true and proper redemption and reconciliation requires. Hence the most opposite predicates can be affirmed of the common person. Secondly, the

* This fine passage, so intimately related to the deep significance of the christological mystery as held by Sartorius, his translator entirely omits; connecting what goes before and what follows, in a continuous paragraph, with a violence that fairly kills the original, to make out, what is, after all, only an *apparition* of sense.

properties of the divine nature attach, through the central consciousness, to the human. Thirdly, the properties of the human nature attach, in the same way, to the divine.* With such constitution, the mystery of the Saviour's person, in order that it may be still more fully understood, must be followed through the successive stages of his humiliation and exaltation, till all becomes complete finally in the glory of his second coming.

The way is opened thus, at length, for contemplating the *work* of Christ, the end in which the mystery of his person reveals its meaning and power. This occupies the sixth, seventh and eighth lectures. All is made to grow out of the fact of the incarnation. "So closely is the whole joined with this as its root, that to describe the wonderful constitution of Christ's person, is itself to set forth in some measure its object. If we cast a retrospective glance over the entire portrait of the God-man, as presented to us in both his natures, in their union and in his different states of humiliation and exaltation, so as to bring all as much as possible to one grand impression, we must at once feel that the end and purpose of it is to effect the inmost union and fellowship of divinity and humanity, and in this way to glorify the love of God as well as secure the happiness and salvation of men." Man is formed for religion, as the perfection of his being. This holds only in union with God, whose love is the ground of all good. Sin sunders us all naturally from his presence. Our salvation requires that it should be taken out of the way. This is accomplished only through the satisfaction of Christ, which, in virtue of his inward living relation to the race, and the theanthropic mystery of his person, carries with it a true reconciling and saving force for all mankind.

The next inquiry regards the application of this grace to particular men, the transition of what is accomplished primarily in Christ, over to his people. This leads to the consideration of the *means of grace*, namely, the word and sacraments, as they have been divinely lodged in the keeping of the Church for this pur-

* Mr. Stearns, with amusing awkwardness, makes Sartorius say here just the same thing in his second and third conclusions; in the first case, "by means of the communicated union of consciousness, the attributes of the divine nature belong to the human," while in the second, "by means of the reciprocal consciousness, the human nature receives also the attributes of the divine nature."

pose. Next follows a view of the several stages in the process of salvation; after which the whole discussion concludes with a brief survey, in the last lecture, of the prophetic, priestly and kingly offices, as executed by Christ in the character of Mediator.

Throughout, thus, the person of the Saviour is represented as lying, inwardly and truly, at the foundation of the whole christian salvation. "Christ is himself the living substance of christianity;" which accordingly, from first to last, serves but to unfold or bring out the deep contents of his life. His work holds always and only in the mystery of his person, and is of force for others in no other way than as they are brought to have part in this as its constant support and ground. "In him dwells all fullness; all the predictions of the prophets, all the ideals of sacred poetry, all the deepest thoughts of true philosophy, are fulfilled and actualized in him, in whom God became manifest in the flesh, (I. Tim. iii. 16.) that we might behold his glory, as that of the only begotten Son of the Father, and receive from his fullness grace for grace, John i. 14-18:" *In him*, not *by* him simply, all things which are in heaven and which are on earth, are reconciled, united and comprehended under one head, (Eph. i. 10., Col. i. 20.).

All this, rightly apprehended, is something materially different, we say, from the christology of Mr. Stearns. Without being aware of the fact, he has in his mind throughout, quite another conception of the theanthropic mystery, and quite another scheme accordingly of the christian salvation. Sartorius is a Lutheran, honestly and earnestly true to the substance of Luther's faith, though now in the bosom of the United German Church. Mr. Stearns is a Baptist, immersed all over in the unmystical element of his own creed. These two systems are by no means the same; and the difference is not simply accidental. It falls back, in the end, to the idea of Christ's person, and in this way necessarily conditions the theory and life of religion throughout. The Baptist Christ is not in full the Lutheran Christ. He may be acknowledged in the same terms to a certain extent; but his constitution is not the same, and he stands in a different relation to the work of redemption. The Baptist christology is not itself the new world of grace, in which the whole gospel stands revealed as a living fact, but forms rather the outward machinery which hea-

ven has contrived for saving men. The *work* which was required to take away sin, needed indeed a conjunction of divinity with humanity in Christ, to qualify him for its execution; but once executed, it carries with it an independent and separate value in the divine mind, and may be set to the account of men as a mere abstraction in this way, apart from Christ's life altogether. The person of the Saviour is not viewed as the principle and root strictly of the whole christian salvation, but only as its outward occasion or instrument, brought in gloriously to make way for the action of grace under another form; just as the electric telegraph is employed as a medium for bringing a word to pass a thousand miles off, which could not be made to take effect in any other way, although it is in no sense itself the very form and substance of the word so spoken. So regarded, the hypostatical union itself assumes a more or less shadowy and unreal character, leaning at one time towards Gnosticism, or at another saving itself again only in the form of Nestorian dualism. The sense of an inward, *organic* union is, in a great measure, wanting. The true *universality* of Christ's humanity comes not into view. The *reconciliation* of heaven and earth, which lies in the mystery of the incarnation itself, and involves potentially and necessarily all the atonement and redemption that follow, is not perceived. The deep, rich, overwhelming sense of the living *fact*, is not understood or felt. In place of it, we have only an orthodox abstraction. Then the redemption which follows, is of course apprehended under a corresponding character. Christ executes all his offices in a comparatively outward way, parallel thus in kind with the Old Testament prophets, priests and kings, only rising above them in degree, "*primus inter pares*." He reveals truth, buys righteousness, and exerts power, all in an external instrumental manner; instead of being in fact, as he always claims to be, in the very constitution of his own person, *the way, the truth, the resurrection and the life*, all in the most real and absolute sense, in whom, as well as by whom only, it is possible for any of the children of men to be saved. An abstract conception of the work of redemption again brings with it necessarily also, a like abstract idea of the way in which men are made partakers of its grace. The process is lifted into the sphere of pure thought. All turns on supernatural acts of God on one side, and

the exercises of individual experience on the other, that come after all to no steady union in the way of spiritual life. The mystical, sacramental interest in religion, is practically undervalued, or we may say, rather to a great extent subverted altogether, in order to make room more effectually for what are conceived to be the far higher claims of piety under a different form.

It is easy enough to feel this want of congruity between Sartorius and his translator throughout; but it comes to its most glaring exposure, where the subject of the sacraments is brought forward. In the nature of the case, this could not be left out of sight in the original work. No christology, no scheme of christianity, can be *Lutheran*, which leads not to the idea of sacramental grace, the *mystery* of Christ's presence in the sacraments, as an essential, inseparable element of the gospel. Sartorius accordingly devotes a whole lecture mainly to this subject—a rich, instructive and edifying discourse, for any one whose mind is prepared at all to sympathize with the ancient faith of the Church. But what now becomes of this most unbaptistic chapter of the work, in the hands of Mr. Stearns? The whole of it is quietly suppressed, with only the following explanation, in the way of a short note, at the beginning of the next lecture: "The previous chapter discusses the Lutheran view of baptism and the Lord's Supper, but is omitted in the translation as inapplicable to the ideas upon that subject held by christians generally on this side of the water."

Let us now look for a moment to the lecture in question, that we may understand how much is involved in the summary renunciation, thus made in behalf, not only of the Baptist body, but of the American churches in general.

The means of grace, according to Sartorius, have their force only in the Church, constituted by the Holy Ghost, to hold them in charge and administer them as organs for men's salvation. They are, first, the *word*, in the two-fold form of law and gospel; then the two holy sacraments, *baptism* and the *Lord's supper*. These are not properly *our* works, but acts of grace performed towards us by Christ, through the Church, which we are required to accept believingly in this character. Baptism is the seal of our ingrafting into Christ. We are born under the curse of original sin; but grace interposes, through Christ, to bring us

out of that state, extending to us, even in infancy, the visible pledge of such deliverance in this holy mystery. "Hence it is called the laver of *regeneration*, Tit. iii. 5; because by it the child, though at first still unconscious, passes out of the kingdom of the world and its spirit into the kingdom of God and his Spirit, and from a child of the flesh becomes a child of grace, on whom is impressed anew the seal of his original destination to the image of God and the inheritance of eternal life, while in the Church of Christ, of which he is a member, all means and helps are furnished for reaching this end." The objective value of it is not affected, in the case of infants, by the consideration that they cannot at once appropriate it by faith. It remains always at hand, as a divine fact, notwithstanding, for their use and appropriation through the whole of their lives. Does a man become truly and properly the child of his natural parents, only when he wakes first to the clear sense of what is comprised in such relation? Baptism, in this case, comes to its completion of right in *confirmation*. Again, as the christian life begins in this first sacrament, so it is fed and supported by the second, the holy supper. Here Christ imparts to us his flesh and blood, that is, the power of his own divine-human life; for he is, in truth, the living bread, of which all must partake or perish. There is, indeed, no change of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ, as the Roman Church teaches; but still there is a real union between them, above sense, according to his own word. "We will not envy those," says Sartorius, "who see in this meal only an outward figurative memorial of an absent Christ, which makes nothing more of him to be present, than what they may think along with it out of their own minds. Such, verily, would do better to contemplate a crucifix, or an *ecce homo*, or some other image of Jesus, than to eat a piece of bread and drink a sip of wine, destroying thus the recollection sign in the very act of its reception."

All this, of course, is at full variance with the system of Mr. Stearns. He allows no such efficacy to baptism, and dreams of no such mystery in the Lord's Supper. It is easy thus to see and understand, why he should be disposed to set aside the whole chapter as out of date. What, however, must we think of the *honesty* of such conduct? Be the merits of the suppressed lecture what they may, it is certain that for Sartorius himself, it has

been of indispensable account in the discussion of his general subject. It goes necessarily, with him, to make out the completeness and integrity of the book; he would not be willing at all, as a good Lutheran, to stand charged before the world, with a christological theory, from which, by any possibility, the idea of sacramental grace could be divorced in such wholesale style. The probability is, that he would prefer decidedly the suppression of the whole work, to any mutilation so terrible as this must appear to be in his eyes. What right then, we may well ask, has any translator, standing in a wholly different system of religious thought, to mutilate the book in this way, and still publish it *in Sartorius' name*? It may be proper, in certain cases, to abridge another man's work, for more general popular use; though, even then, to be at all honest, the abridgement must be published *as such*, and is bound besides to be true to the sum and substance of the full work. It is, however, quite another thing, to change or expunge a single passage or even a single word, by which the true sense and spirit of the original is expressed at any point, in such a way as to bring in another sense quite foreign from the author's mind. This is spiritual forgery, which deserves to be abhorred of all good men. No small noise was made a few years since, about certain liberties of this sort, taken with D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, by the American Tract Society. But that wrong, generally condemned, we believe, was small indeed as compared with the high-handed violence here perpetrated on Sartorius; and it must be regarded as a sign of the general obtuseness of the American Church to the claims of the high interest here concerned, that so glaring a wrong should be able to proclaim itself, with so little danger of shocking the common sense of christian propriety. Let the case be put into a new shape. Suppose a Baptist tract, gutted of its baptistic peculiarities, or some good Puritan work *catholicized*, for the use of the Roman Church, by the careful obliteration of a whole section on justification by faith, and we should not soon hear the last of the stealthy-footed, cowl-mantled stragem. Can it be less *jesuitic* to play the same game, under a Protestant evangelical guise? We think not.

But this is not all. The case reveals a radically wrong conception of the entire theological system represented by Sartorius,

and of its relation to the theory of religion, in whose service he is here enlisted. It is quite common, we know, for all evangelical sects, as the Church now stands, not excepting Baptists of every hue and name, to claim inward affinity with *Luther* as the father of the Reformation, and to glory in his doctrine as only carried out to its purest form in their own faith and practice. His prejudices about the sacraments, and some other things, they, of course, have consigned to the tomb of the Capulets, (with due indulgence to the dormitancies of so great a *Homer*,) but only to stick the faster to the true life and marrow of his divinity, as found in the doctrine of justification by faith. But only see the contradiction which all this carries upon its very face. "Saul among the prophets!" was not, surely, a greater incongruity than the idea of *Luther* quietly seated among these various sects ("die himmlische Propheten") and consenting to be taught "the way of God more perfectly," at their feet. What a compliment, moreover, to the cause of the Reformation, to conceive of its great leaders generally, and most of all, the very *Moses* of its glorious exodus, as having no power to discriminate between the essential and the accidental, in so clear a case as this of the sacraments is now taken to be; but actually filling all Europe with their noise about it, as though it belonged in some way to the very core of christianity, when any child may now see that they were driving at a shadow from first to last. The whole conception is absurd. The sacramental doctrine of *Luther*, so far as the substance of it is concerned, was no outward fungus upon his system. It lies imbedded in its inmost life. To part with it, is to give up the cause of the Reformation itself, as it stood in his mind, and to turn his whole theology into a new and different shape. To think of the Baptist theory of religion as one and the same with the evangelical Lutheran, *only* divested of his sacramental doctrine—as though this were an old cocked hat, to be kept on or laid off at pleasure—can only show the shallow character of the whole theology, for which any such thought is possible. So in the case before us, to drop the chapter on the sacraments, and yet pretend to be satisfied with the rest of the book as sound and good, must be taken as a gross inconsistency. Any christology that can admit the idea of a Church with no divine powers, no grace in its sacraments, no room in its bosom

for infants, no mystical presence of Christ's life in the Lord's supper—be its claims to respect in any other view what they may—must be counted utterly foreign from the entire mind of Sartorius, and cannot possibly be the same that is presented to us in this little book. However it may be with others, *his* view of Christ's person, (like that of Luther,) necessarily involves such a conception of the christian salvation, as brings along with it in the end all that the sacramental interest includes. His scheme of religion thus, in the nature of the case, is materially different throughout from that into whose service he is here forcibly *translated* by Mr. Stearns.

Still farther. The Lutheranism of Dr. Sartorius, as presented in this work, is by no means of the rigid extreme sort; so that in the case before us, it might seem to be set aside in favor simply of the old Reformed or Calvinistic doctrine of the sacraments, as this stood in the sixteenth century. Even in that case, the wrong would, of course, still merit sharp rebuke. But the opposition here, is not between the two forms of the original Protestant doctrine. There are a few sentences, perhaps, in Sartorius, to which a true follower of Calvin might demur; but the body of his doctrine, beyond all doubt, is the same that is most distinctly taught in the writings of Calvin, and embodied in all the classic confessions of the Reformed Church. There was a difference between the two creeds, of course; but such as it was, it lies away beyond the Baptist horizon, with which we are here concerned. Both sides of the old Protestantism intended to hold fast to the substance of the ancient sacramental doctrine, as it had stood in the catholic Church from the beginning. Both held the sacraments to be *mysteries*, regarded them as *organs* of grace, looked through them by faith to the *presence* of Christ's life, as objectively and truly comprehended in their solemn transaction. All this grew too out of a corresponding christology, by which room was made for the idea of a concrete Church, with divine resources and capabilities, commensurate, in all respects, with the entire extent of our human fall, and fitted in this way to cover the case of infants no less than that of adults. All this, however, and nothing more than this, is just the conception which Mr. Stearns, true to his Baptist feeling, undertakes to expunge from the doctrine of Christ's Person and Work, "as inapplicable

to the ideas upon that subject held by Christians generally, on this side of the water." This deserves to be well considered and borne in mind.

But now finally ; what are we to think of the declaration here made of Christians generally, on this side of the Atlantic ? The reference is, of course, not simply to the Baptist body, but to the so-called evangelical denominations in general. It is taken for granted, that they have collectively fallen away from the old doctrine of the sacraments, as here represented ; that their system of religion excludes it ; that it has come to be, in short, on all sides, obsolete and out of date. Is this representation correct ? We fear that there is but too much reason for it, in the actual state of the Church. It is sometimes resented indeed, as harsh and unkind, to speak of any falling away from the original Protestant ground, in the posture of our modern churches. But the evidence of the fact, so far as the general Puritan and Methodistic tendency is concerned, is too clear in the case of the sacraments, to bear any controversy ; and it can only be by making no account of the interest in consideration, that the reality and momentous significance of the fact are so generally thrust out of sight. This, however, is itself, one of the strongest evidences of the very change, which it is affected in this way to overlook or despise. It is the want of the old faith in the sacraments, precisely, which makes the question of the sacraments, and along with this the whole subject of the Church, to be for so many, of so little interest and meaning. With all this agrees, but too well, the low style, in which these divine mysteries are spoken of in every direction, and the determined resistance which is made to the idea of everything like sacramental grace. It would seem, indeed, as if Mr. Stearns had good reason to say of the old doctrine, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, (for *his* repudiation of Sartorius excludes it in both forms,) that it no longer suits the reigning faith of this country. The statement has called forth, so far as we have noticed, no contradiction or exception, on the part of those who have noticed his book. His monstrous wrong done to Sartorius, and to the theme of his book, on this plea, is suffered to pass without rebuke. Even the Lutheran Church, whose whole significance is here at stake, and whose dignity and glory it should be to stand forward, especially at such a time, as the

bulwark of the sacramental interest, has lost, unfortunately, to a great extent, the power of entering any effectual protest in so grave a case. The "Lutheran Observer," which represents at present the reigning mind and life of that church, actually took notice of this mutilation of Sartorius, not long since, with a chuckle of delight, as a broad sign of the entire *antiquation* which has happily overtaken, here in evangelical America, the whole sacramental dream of the sixteenth century. The sympathies of this *organ* of Lutheranism fit it for making love ecclesiastically to the Cumberland Presbyterians, and other such sects, much more than for coming up to the help of its own proper faith in the hour of distress and danger. Could there well be however, a more grinning irony on our existing sect system, than is presented to us in such a spectacle—the creed of Luther, the faith of the Augsburg Confession, thus mortally wounded, in favor of the Baptists, in the house of its own professed friends!

It is all right, in this case, that the doctrine of infant baptism is made to share a common fate with the mystical presence in the Lord's supper, and the idea of sacramental grace generally. The baptism of infants can have no meaning for those who allow no objective value or force in the sacrament itself. Such may still hold fast to the rite, on the ground of old church tradition; but they do so with inward contradiction to their own faith; they are baptistic in principle, and to be at all consistent, should fall in fully also with the baptistic practice. This lies also necessarily in the christological theory, and their corresponding view they take of the Church. Only where the christian salvation is seen and felt to be a fact, primarily made real, under a concrete form for the benefit of the whole world, in the person of Christ, can there be any proper consciousness of its enduring objective character in the Church, and its necessary relation in this form to the *whole* track of our human existence, from the cradle to the grave. The idea of a Christ, whose life is not formed to take up into itself the entire fact of humanity, (of which infancy is just as necessary a constituent as full age,) is such a contradiction as no sound christological feeling, no true sense of the Church, can ever comfortably endure. But let all resolve itself into a mere outward and mechanical salvation, and the case is quite changed. The whole mystical, sacramental side of christianity

is given up as no better than superstition; and along with the loss of all faith in the grace of holy baptism, as well as in that of the holy supper, the right of infants to be comprehended in Christ, by any such laver of regeneration, is thrown into an unsubstantial unmeaning shadow.

J. W. N.

ART. XI.—ORGANIC CHRISTIANITY.

THE object of this article is, to exhibit *the relation of baptized children to the church*. It is assumed, that baptized children do hold some peculiar relation, and unless baptism is a mere ceremonial, a work of supererogation and unauthorized obedience, this must be true. In other words, there is significancy in this rite. It is not a matter of mere expediency or human origin and authority, which may be observed or neglected at the option of individuals.

Allowing this postulate, and with those who deny it, we have at present, no controversy, the question is, what is that relation? On this point, the mind of God, as given in our apprehension in the Scriptures, the mind of the whole church, from its organization till a few centuries ago, and the mind of that branch of the church, particularly, to which the writer has always belonged,* may be briefly and intelligibly expressed. Baptized children, are in the church, and not out of it: members, in fact, who are not to come from the world into the church, but, who, being already in the church, if they change their relations, must go from the church into the world. In this brief statement, the whole marrow of the subject is involved, either in the way of pre-supposition, or of legitimate inference. At this precise point, the two great antagonizing schemes of opinion and practice, in regard to the matter before us, diverge, and by this radical idea,

* The writer is a Presbyterian.

all minor differences in the different systems are governed and may be explained.

According to our apprehensions, there are two, and omitting minor points, but two schemes of thought in regard to the church, its nature, membership and modes of propagation and increase. One of these, we would denominate *Individualism*; the other, Organic Christianity. 1. First, there is the scheme of opinion and practice, which, without designing anything invidious, but as characterizing its great leading idea, may be termed, individualism. This theory denies that any one is, or can be, or ought to be considered a member of the church of Christ, but one who has personally exercised faith and repentance, as the fruit and evidence of regeneration. This, of course and of design, excludes from the membership of the church, all but adult and actually regenerated persons.

On the other hand, there is the scheme of opinion and practice, which, for the want of a better term, and also as expressing its leading idea, we would denominate *organic christianity*, in distinction from individualism. This holds as one of its vital ideas, that membership in the church of God, may exist, and the privileges and blessings pertaining to it, may be enjoyed, in the case of those who have not exercised, and, in fact, are not capable of exercising faith and repentance. In other words, that infants, in virtue of the faith of their parents, or in such a case, of one of their parents, are, and of right ought to be considered, members of the church, entitled to its privileges, till, by their own act, or refusal to act, they forfeit these privileges and voluntarily identify themselves with the world and God's enemies, and are cast out of the church. One of these schemes represents christianity, as in its nature and by the plan of its founder, possessing organic power, operating really, and in many instances, efficaciously, irrespective of the choice or agency of the individual. It represents the church as a nursery. Its appliances as eminently educational, and growth, its great law of progress.

The other, represents christianity as addressing itself only to and operating upon individuals, after they have arrived at the period of personal choice and voluntary agency. It represents the church characteristically, as an armory; its appliances, as

essentially aggressive and belligerent, and its law of progress, conquest.

With such antagonistic views of the nature of christianity, of the church, and of the right mode of its preservation and propagation, there must necessarily be diversity in regard to the point now before us, viz: the component elements of the church. Infants and children will, of course, be regarded in a very different light as one or the other of these views is adopted. Men of loose thinking and illogical habits, may confound or try to blend these two schemes, take a part of one and a part of the other, and out of the heterogeneous elements, endeavor to construct what they denominate a system. But it is impossible. Like the iron and clay of the toes of the great image, they will not cohere. To be symmetrical, the leading idea either of individualism or organic christianity, must run through the whole, and govern the separate parts of every system.

Having thus endeavored, honestly and impartially, to set forth these two great leading schemes of thought and practice, as they bear on this subject, and to state what we believe is the great point of divergence between them, the question of moment now, is, *Which of these is true?* Which correctly represents God's mind in the case, and ought consequently to govern the opinions and practice of his people?

Subsidiary to the proper settlement of this question, and though confessedly secondary, by no means, in our view, unimportant, let us ascertain the view, taken in the symbolical books of the church, on the point before us. For all practical purposes, we may take the standards of the Presbyterian church, as embodying the antecedent and contemporaneous sentiment of the church, in the apprehension of their framers, and without obtruding our personal preferences, may consider them as expressing the spirit of Protestant symbols. Old-fashioned Presbyterianism, as we apprehend and feel bound to expound and maintain it, goes with its full weight against the scheme of individualism, and can be explained, as a consistent and symmetrical system, as beyond all controversy it is, whether we allow it to be true or not, only on the idea of organic christianity, as we have endeavored to explain the term.

For example, in regard to the composition of the church, considered as universal or particular, the idea of the Westminster standards embraces all that we have denominated the organic character of christianity. Their language, concerning the universal church, is, "The universal church consists of all those persons, in every nation, *together with their children*, who make profession of the holy religion of Christ, and of submission to his laws." Again, in the same spirit, they represent a particular church thus: "A particular church consists of a number of professing christians, *with their offspring*, voluntarily associated together for divine worship and godly living, agreeably to the holy Scriptures, and submitting to a certain form of government." In these fundamental views of the nature of the church, it will be perceived that the church is represented as altogether different from a mere aggregation of individuals. The church is held forth as having precisely the same organic character, and embracing the same elements as the state does, whatever be its specific form of administration. A nation, be its government monarchical or republican, embraces in its elements the infant and unconscious offspring of its members, and by this means, its identity is preserved and its perpetuation and progrees secured. These grow up in connexion with it, are entitled to its protection, enjoy its privileges, and without any other specific act, are considered as in its allegiance. When foreign elements, indeed, come to be incorporated with this body, by their own act of choice, a special form of allegiance and recognition is necessary. And very properly, for then citizenship and allegiance are transferred. But in the case of native born citizens, their citizenship stands in their connexion with their parents and is assumed and continued, till by some act of their own, it is forfeited and annulled. Precisely so, the symbols alluded to, represent the elements of the church. Children, the offspring of parents professing submission to Christ—the baptized portion of the congregation, are, *de facto*, members, entitled to its privileges, and can only be deprived of them by their own fault or the exercise of the church's prerogative of discipline.

The same idea is involved in the teachings of these standards on the subject of baptism. Baptism is represented as "a sacra-

ment of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, for the solemn admission of the party baptized, into the visible church," and "not only those who actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized"—tantamount, according to the definition already given, to being solemnly admitted into the visible church.

So again, "Baptism is not to be administered to any that are out of the visible church, and so strangers to the covenants of promise, till they profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him." This is designed to meet the case of adult admissions, analogous to the introduction of foreign elements into civil society; "but infants, descending from parents either both or only one of them professing faith in Christ and obedience to him, are in that respect within the covenant and are to be baptized." The unbelief of one party, as we shall see in another part of this subject, being sanctified and its exclusive influence counteracted, in God's constitution, by the faith of the other party.

The faith of parents, or of one parent, as the case may be, always enures to the benefit of the unconscious child, brings it into important relations, surrounds it with important associations, and is the ordinary channel along which decisive influences come to it, long before it is capable of performing any act, to which personal accountability attaches. On this plan, the question of preference is to be settled, not *by the child*, in the exercise of its free agency and individual choice, but *for the child*, by those who stand in organic relation to it. Children are not to be held, *in equilibrio*, as some preposterously contend, till they come to exercise the grand prerogative of personal choice, a thing, in the nature of the case, impossible and absurd, as well as undesirable, but so influenced, that the exercise of choice shall be right and in accordance with truth and safety from the beginning. The system now under consideration, knows nothing of that idea of religious vagrancy, (we know of no other name for it,) popular with infidels and worldlings, which is so jealous of the rights of private judgment and of undue influence, that a child, with all its admitted and hereditary tendencies in the wrong direction, must be left uninfluenced and uncommitted in its plastic period, lest its freedom of opinion and choice should be thereby compro-

mitted—a plan equally indicating folly on the part of parents, and imposing peril unspeakable on the child, “as if,” as one has strikingly said, “after producing the egg of immortality, the church, like the Nubian ostrich, should leave it in the sands, exposed to the tread of every passer by.” (Dr. Bushnell.)

These views, we think, distinctly convey the organic character of the church and the true law of its propagation and progress, as the existing sentiment of the framers of these symbols. While they make provision for the incorporation into the church of foreign elements of adult age, by the exercise of faith and repentance and voluntary profession of obedience to Christ and the laws of his kingdom, just as nations do, the great principle for securing the perpetuation and expansion of the church, is the incorporation into it, of those who belong to its families, and the extension of these nurseries of the church, by the influence of the christian over the unbelieving portion of the family structure, securing by the faith of one party, the whole of the offspring to the side of christianity, and the enjoyment of its privileges and influences. Whenever the gospel is brought into contact with heathenism, and its institutions are to be founded anew, it must have to do primarily with the adult population. This was the case when christianity overleaping the limitations of the Judaistic institute, was brought to bear upon the Gentile nations in the first centuries. And this will serve to explain much in the epistles of Paul, addressed to churches, formed out of Gentile material, which otherwise seem adverse to the views we are suggesting. But when the church is founded, and is to progress by the laws of its own vitality, and such we conceive is the state of things contemplated in the standards of the church, then the extraordinary and exceptional gives place to the ordinary and permanent methods of progress.

The views now given of the relations of children to the church, involve some exceedingly important and practical results, the consideration of which will show that proper speculative views on the point now under discussion, should be carefully formed. According to these views, for example, the children of believing parents, as members of the church, and within the pale of the covenant, should grow up as christians; not as outcasts and rebels.

The children of the church need not, as many seem to imagine, grow up in sin, to be converted, if at all, after they come to mature age; but may and ought to open on the world and its active duties, as spiritually renewed, loving and practising what is good from their earliest years—"springing up as among the grass," which by living reproduction has been perpetuated from creation till now, and "as willows by the water courses," putting forth in early spring-time, the evidences of vitalizing power within.

Christian education too, should conform to these views. They should be trained up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." On the ground of covenant relation, recognized by baptism, parents are privileged to realize the new relations of the Trinity to their children as well as themselves.

They may and ought to regard God as being to their children a reconciled Father, through the mediation of Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ, as an actual and all-sufficient Saviour, and the Holy Ghost as a sanctifier, not on the ground of any goodness existing in them, for there is none, but as the means of awakening goodness, of producing faith and gratitude, and consecration in their hearts. Parents are privileged to act on these truths, in educating their children, to make these representations to them as realities, as soon as they are capable of comprehending them. And still further, and more practically, they should aim to incorporate these ideas into their minds and hearts, by a process of training, beginning long before personal accountability commences—by the assimilative power of the eye and countenance and temper and spirit. By these means, children might be and should be expected, without any conscious period of unregeneracy, to be brought under their sanctifying power. In such a case, just as in the case of adults after regeneration, such children would still recognize in themselves the law of sin and death, derived from apostacy and inherited corruption. "The flesh would lust against the spirit." "The law in the members" would still be in antagonism against "the law of the mind," and sometimes one, and sometimes the other would overcome. But their earliest exercises would be of that mixed character of genuine christianity, which belong in every period, even the most advanced, to the truly regenerated, and the really, though at best, imperfectly sanctified. The new

principle would sometimes more, and sometimes less, powerfully assert its existence, by its appropriate effects, and at last grow up to supremacy, habitual and controlling. Seasons of torpor, sometimes apparently of death, just as in adults, would be manifest. Darkness, coldness and estrangement, and then life, and warmth and enjoyment would alternate, according to outward circumstances or inward influences, and as children have no hypocrisy, would be more evident in them than in adult christians; but the reality of grace, "the incorruptible seed that liveth and abideth forever," would be there, as truly as in those of adult conversion and mature experience.

It will be seen further, from these representations, that there is no absolute necessity, in the case of infant members of the church who have been properly trained according to the normal acting of the christian church, and the general design of God in its organization, for the *conscious* experience, much less for the recognition of the precise period, of what is called conversion, or obtaining a new heart, as it is familiarly termed. Observe, we do not say, the *experience*, but the *conscious* experience. Believing parents are not to take it for granted, that their children when they grow up, will necessarily have undividedly wicked hearts, and put forth perpetually and only, overt acts of rebellion against God and ingratitude to the Saviour. They need not and ought not, as many are accustomed to do, put them on the mystifying search after evidences of "a new heart." The great object and true result of parental training, should be, to bring them into the exercise of new hearts, in view of the new and glorious relations of the Holy Trinity to our race, which the Scriptures plainly reveal, and which the ordinances of the church certify and seal as realities, to all that intelligently engage in them, admitting fully and freely, as they must, the fact of original sin and inherited depravity in their children, from their connexion with the first Adam, existing, as all admit, without their personal agency and choice; of course, parents are privileged to expect along with the faithful use of appointed means, regenerative and sanctifying power from the second Adam, the counterpart in this respect of the first, also without their conscious agency, and previous to the period of personal accountability.

The theory of christianity, embodied in these standards, takes for granted, this regenerative and sanctifying process, anterior to all conscious and accountable exercises, in the case of infants dying in infancy, and on that fact, rest the hopes of parents, that the "early lost" are the "early saved." This truth sheds a lovely light on their little graves. "Elect infants dying in infancy."

We believe all dying in infancy are elect—"are regenerated and saved through the Spirit, who worketh, when, where and how he pleaseth." They are fitted for heaven, without personally exercising faith and repentance, for the simple and sufficient reason, that they are incapable of exercising these otherwise indispensable graces. Here the fact of the efficacious influence of the Spirit, in implanting the principle of life, in the unconscious period, is plainly asserted, and on no other ground can an intelligible and satisfactory account be given, (in the case of infants dying in infancy) allowing them to be originally corrupt, and consequently disqualified, of the process of preparation for future glory. Is there a parent who ever lost an infant, that is willing to deny that regenerative power is exerted, and has been exerted on the part of the Spirit, and experienced on the part of the child, anterior to the period of personal accountability? When children grow up amidst the congenial influences of glory, the germ of a new life, derived from Christ, through the Holy Ghost, is developed in the lovely forms of perfected piety, in the skies, why may not and ought not, the influences of the family and the church, if rightly exerted, result to some extent, at least in the same way here? The theory of organic christianity demands that the law in regard to infant members dying in infancy, and those who grow up to adult years and the period of accountability in the church below, should be the same, and that the absence of these regenerative influences, resulting in actual christian affections, is the exception. Instead of expecting, as a matter of course, therefore, that children will grow up enemies of God, "aliens from the commonwealth and strangers to the covenants of promise," without love or gratitude to Christ, or influence of the Spirit, making indispensable a period of conviction and conversion conscious to the individual, and a passing over from the world to the church, as, of course, is necessary, in the case of

unregenerated adults, the fact of membership in the church, and a participation in the blessings of the covenant, and the guaranteed power of the spirit, operating previously to the period of free agency, and the quickening grace of the second Adam, which is as real and operative as the polluting efficacy of the first, all conspire to encourage parents that their children, if properly trained, may grow up, and will grow up, as christians, and that their first conscious acts and exercises will be those of new hearts, and their subsequent lives with the altered natures already noticed, will be in correspondence with these christian beginnings. When a different result takes place, as, alas! it often does, there has been either some wrong view of the relations of the child, some wrong influence from the parent, or a want of true faith in the covenant promise of God. It is not for want of sufficient grace treasured in Christ and designed usually to be communicated through proper parental training. In accordance with this view of the case, the Presbyterian Directory for worship declares, "children born within the pale of the visible church, and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the church, and are to be taught to read and repeat the catechism, the Apostle's creed and the Lord's prayer. They are to be taught to pray, to abhor sin, to fear God, and to obey the Lord Jesus Christ; and when they come to years of discretion, if they are free from scandal, appear sober and steady, and to have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed it is their duty and privilege to come to the Lord's supper."

Such is the scheme of christianity, directly asserted, or everywhere assumed, in Presbyterian standards, with its special bearing on the point now under discussion—an interpretation, possibly, which seems new and unauthorized to some who have adopted these standards, which may convict some of gross practical departures from their professed formularies, and condemn some of the appliances heretofore deemed of paramount, if not exclusive importance, in building up and extending the kingdom of God and the church of Christ in our world. Be it so. It is with truth only, not its consequences, that we are concerned. If truth condemn us, let its condemning power excite us to rectification. If our past course has been founded in misconception, and un-

successful because fallacious, let us try to gain better speculative views, and thus be guided into better and more successful practice.

Presbyterians ought to be in no doubt in regard to the relation of children to the church. On the faith of one or both parents, they are in the church, entitled to its privileges, and may ordinarily be expected to be savingly influenced by its institutions. Parents should act on the presumption furnished by these relations. They should present God to their children, as already reconciled, for the sake of Christ, and by means of this truth in the hands of the Holy Ghost, effect the state of actual, subjective reconciledness to him, confidence in him, and love to him, on the part of their children, which this new and glorious relation is designed and adapted to develop. The first, and sweetest, and most influential lesson they are privileged to teach them, is embodied in the phrase, "Our Father." So they should fix the first affections of their children on the Lord Jesus Christ, not as willing at some distant day, to be their Saviour and Redeemer, or in consequence of goodness or the possession of a new heart, or any previous exercise of grace; but, as being actually their Redeemer, who loved them and died for them, who loves them now, and by this love, in its manifestations on the cross and its present pulsations on the throne, designing to evoke reciprocal love to him, amongst the earliest exercises of the infant heart. So they should present the Holy Spirit, also, not as exerting a mysterious and talismanic, but a soul-felt, agency—a real, living, enlightening sanctifying power.

The children of the church, thus trained, when admitted to the discriminating privileges of the church, especially the Lord's supper, would regard it, not as an act of translation from the world and a state of rebellion, but as a grateful recognition, on their part, personally, of relations existing before, and whose influence by God's arrangement and blessing, they have felt in their hearts. It ought to be solemnly and constantly asserted, whatever practical difficulties may attend it, that membership in the church, must be forfeited or annulled by the party himself, or it exists, with all its responsibilities, and that the discipline of the church has its legitimate sphere of operation on baptized

members, as well as others. In a settled state of the church, we ought to regard the families that belong to it, or may be added to it, as its nurseries and grand sources of supply, and means of extension, instead of trusting to periodical accessions from those confirmed in unregeneracy and sin. In the perpetuation and expansion of the church, we should primarily regard the law of progress which God has established, while, of course, we should stand ready to engage earnestly and believingly in those more strictly aggressive movements, which it has always pleased him to employ to repair the wastes of the church's faithlessness, and sometimes, indeed, entirely to transfer the seat of the church's existence.

Assuming, however, that these are the views of the symbols, and that they correctly represent the sense of the Scriptures, according to the honest apprehensions of their framers, this will not be sufficient for some. They may say, this is Presbyterianism or churchianity; but is it christianity? With some of the members, and alas! even officers of the church, it is of comparatively small moment, that a doctrine is set forth in the formularies they have embraced and profess as their creed. It is not enough, for example, that the combined wisdom of the Westminster assembly, or of the most learned and pious of uninspired men, ever convened since the time of the Apostles, has been expressed in regard to any point. Their individual judgment or preconceived opinion, or cherished theory, or previous practice, outweighs all this. There are men, too, whose minds are so constructed, or prejudices so confirmed, that whatever is old and established, is to them *prima facie*, suspicious and erroneous, and on the contrary, whatever is new, especially the result of their own independent thinking, is valuable and correct. This is one of the incidental evils, growing out of one of the confessedly great blessings and privileges, of the age, and one of the sad exemplifications too, of the tendencies to extremes to which the human mind has been prone, in all past times, and in none more than our own. It is not enough to find out what our fathers thought, what has been the common faith of the church in past ages, the embodied result and embalmed testimony of the past piety of God's people, every man, though with almost infinitely

smaller advantages, must find out for himself the truth in the case.

In what remains of our article, therefore, we shall attempt to show that what we have denominated organic christianity, as contradistinguished from individualism, and of course, the relation of children to the church, inseparable from that idea of the genius of christianity, is the doctrine of the Scriptures, as really as of the symbols; in other words, that the framers of these formularies, in this respect, have truly, as well as honestly, given the sense of the Scriptures.

This part of the discussion will necessarily lead us back to the first organization of the church of God. And here, we presume, that none will question the fact, that the Old Testament church, as organized in the family of Abraham, and based on the covenant of circumcision, possessed this organic character. This feature is involved, we think, in the very nature of the organization and the terms of the covenant. The infant offspring of members, were included in the organization of the Old Testament church, and in the purview of the Abrahamic covenant. The plan of transmission and perpetuation, under the old Dispensation, too, was unquestionably, hereditary, as a general rule, allowing, in exceptional cases, of the incorporation of adult and foreign elements. The tenor of the covenant with Abraham, on which the church was then organized, is thus expressed: "I will establish," says God, "my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." Here is a plain distinction between the individual and the organic character of the covenant. "Between me and thee," and "unto thee," is individual. But what is "thy seed after thee, in their generations," but organic? "As soon as a new individual was generated from this seed, he was within the covenant, and God was his God," as really as the God of Abraham, and he had a right to the seals of the covenant, as a public ratification of his relation to God and his people, unless he chose to renounce them and the privileges thereto appended, "selling his birthright for a mess of pottage." Obviously, his right to church membership was a birthright, guarantied by covenant. He was sealed with its seal in infancy, surrounded with its influ-

ences, and committed to its formative power, from his earliest being, and forfeited them only by his own act of voluntary self-exclusion, or by the process of excision in certain contingencies made and provided.

This was the genius of the church, and the original plan of transmission chosen and ordained by God. If we apprehend it aright, this was also designed to be perpetual. Such, as all must allow, continued to be the principle of perpetuation and transmission, through all the ages of the old Dispensation, from the time of Abraham to the coming of Christ. The organic character of the church, the fact that infants composed a part of its membership, that they were to be trained up as heirs of the covenant and entitled to its visible privileges, and could only be severed from its connexion by the process of excision, are so plainly exhibited in the Old Testament, that those who acknowledge the existence and organization of a church of God at all, anterior to the coming of Christ, cannot possibly deny that these were its peculiarities.

Let it not be said that this is aside from our purpose, and may all be granted, without any decisive influence on the question. It is of no small moment, to have these preliminaries rightly settled. For if this was the original organization of the church, if this organic feature was incorporated into it, at the beginning, the presumption is, unless specifically changed, these features were designed to continue. "The gifts and callings of God, are without repentance," or capricious changes of plan. What his wisdom selected and ordained, in view of the whole case and its contingencies at first, his wisdom may be supposed for the same sufficient reasons, to make perpetual.

The question then, is, did these peculiarities of God's covenant and church organization cease at the introduction of christianity? At that "epochal period," when the meeting and interaction of ages occurred, was a new church, on new principles, and with new modes of propagation and perpetuation inaugurated; or is the christian church a continuation only, with a new form of ordinances and wider range of influence, of that organized in the family of Abraham—based on the same covenant, distinguished by the same peculiarities, and designed to be per-

petuated among men, and extending finally to all nations, by the same great means? Did the one original church, in passing from its Jewish to its Christian phase, from its preparatory to its permanent stage of being, put off its confessedly organic character, to assume the new feature of individualism; and were children, after being component elements of the church, by God's express direction and in virtue of an ordinance established by himself, from the beginning to that epoch, then formally excluded and placed out of covenant with God, and without the pale of his church, and a new plan of perpetuation and expansion established? These are important questions, bearing directly on the point before us. And, "what saith the Scriptures?" "How readest thou?" Just at this crisis, we hear the Master's own voice, saying: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven!" In this feature, the new dispensation is to be as responsive to parental affection and inclusive of infantile membership, as the old. "The God of Abraham," yearns yet with undiminished tenderness towards the lambs of the fold, and designs not that they should be excluded from his covenant blessings and provisions.

Again, at the memorable era of the Pentecost, the anniversary of the giving of the law, and designed by God as the period of the introduction of the better dispensation of the gospel, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, we would naturally look for confirmation or repeal of pre-existing privileges and peculiarities: does anything significant of confirmation or nullification occur at this transition period? Let it be borne in mind, that all the first materials of church organization at the day of Pentecost, were Jews—men brought up under the view of the Abrahamic covenant, already expounded, with hearts naturally solicitous in regard to the relations of their children, heretofore invariably associated with them in church privileges, and ready therefore to embrace with thankfulness, whatever it pleased the Holy Ghost, by the Apostles, to communicate on a point so near to their tenderest affections and dearest earthly interests. Now, what does Peter, speaking "as he was moved by the Holy Ghost," present in these circumstances to these Jews, as a ground or motive of baptism, or personal identification with christianity. "Repent and be

baptized every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, for the promise," the promise made ages before, unto Abraham, and designed to embrace all his seed, "the promise is unto you and your children, and all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." The gospel dispensation, in other words, is a ratification and confirmation, not a repeal or repudiation of existing privileges. In their circumstances, and to their state of heart, the words of the Apostle could have no less significance than this, and go utterly against the idea of the introduction of the individualistic theory at that time.

Further, the basis of the Apostle Paul's argument with the Galatian christians, is the hypothesis of one, original, perpetual church, organized in the family and covenant of Abraham. His object is to show that Gentiles, though not circumcised, are legitimate members of this church, and entitled to all its privileges. In doing this, he traces back the origin of the blessings now enjoyed by christians, to the promise made to Abraham. He contends that it was a part of the original plan of God, in organizing the church in the family of Abraham, "that the blessing of Abraham should come on the Gentiles by faith." "For they that be of faith, are blessed with believing Abraham," have the same blessing he enjoyed. "The Scriptures foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith," or foreshadowing or preintimating God's plan of justifying the nations or Gentiles through faith, after the coming of Christ, "preached before the gospel," or announced the glorious tidings "to Abraham, saying, in thee shall all nations be blest." The Apostle shows clearly that the episodical or interimistic dispensation, instituted at Sinai, did not touch at all the original covenant, but was designed to be subsidiary to it, till the fullness of time, when it was to have its full scope and influence. "The covenant confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred years after, could not disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect." The Law, or Sinaitic dispensation, was introduced to keep up the succession of God's people, "till the seed should come to where the promise was made." It "was a schoolmaster to bring" the church to Christ, or the christian period—"a temporary constitution superadded to give effect to some of the provisions of the

covenant with Abraham and expired by its own limitations." During this preparatory period, it is acknowledged that circumcision was the method of perpetuation, and was of force till Christ came. But the Apostle contends that in the covenant itself, on which the church organization was based, it is provided, that after Christ's coming, the exercise of faith should constitute an individual a part of the seed to whom the promise was originally made, and who have a right to all its blessings. "We are all the children of God, by faith in Jesus Christ." "If we be Christ's then are we Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." "They which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham." The existing church of God, according to the plan at its organization, was to have a great expansion at the coming of Christ. "The abolition of those restrictions, which were suited to a preparatory state, fitted her for universality," and now "all nations" were to be embraced without destroying her unity or original character. In virtue of this provision, Gentiles, without being circumcised, were, by the exercise of faith, incorporated into the church. Thus they form a part of the seed, with whom "in their generations, an everlasting covenant" is made, and by whom the existence of the church is to be perpetuated on the original principles of its first organization. Every one who in adult age, from among the Gentiles, by the personal exercise of faith in Jesus Christ, becomes an integral part of the church of God, brings with him into that church, and has incorporated with himself, into its membership, and entitled with him to its privileges, all his infant family, just as the Jews, whose children all along from the beginning, had an inalienable birthright in the church, in virtue of the relation of their parents—a privilege which, as we have seen, was ratified to them on the day of Pentecost, when they entered the christian church by baptism. Whatever privileges of a personal or relative character belonged of right to the members of the church of God, from the beginning, became the right of every one, who from the heathen, by exercising faith in Christ, was incorporated into the church. Among the rest, the right of having his children included in the covenant—a right which had existed unquestioned, in all antecedent ages, which the Jews always took for granted, and which the Gentiles

did not forego, because of the peculiarity of the mode of their admission, by personal profession of faith in adult age.

It will be perceived from what we have now adduced, that the Apostle's reasoning in behalf of the Gentiles, is based on the assumption of the unity of the church—the fact of its being founded on the covenant made with Abraham—of its having in its original structure a provision to meet this very case;—that the peculiar Judaistic institute was strictly interimistic, dating after the covenant four hundred years, and designed to cease as a provisional scheme, at the coming of the Messiah; whilst the true, original and perpetual organization of the church, on the basis of the covenant of promise, was to continue throughout all generations of the true seed of Abraham, and embrace every one who should exercise faith in Jesus Christ, with their children.

Allowing this to be a fair view of the Apostle's object and argument of the principles it involves, let us see what light is thrown upon it and our general subject, by his famous figurative representation of "the olive tree," in his Epistle to the Romans. He speaks of the church as "an olive tree"—of the Jews, as its "natural branches, broken off by unbelief"—that is, severed from connexion with the church. The Gentiles he represents as belonging to "an olive tree" also, but "wild by nature," and "grafted in, contrary to nature, into the good olive tree, and with them, partakers of its root and fatness." These original branches, "the natural branches" now broken off, "if they abide not still in unbelief," he says, "shall again be grafted in, for God is able to graft them in again." "Grafted into" what? "Their own olive tree"—the same church which exists still, though the members are changed. "The lopping off of diseased branches, destroys not the tree itself." What other possible interpretation will this allow, than this, that there was one, and one only, organized church, without any change in its essential features, into which the Gentiles were incorporated through faith, which is perpetuated according to the law existing at its organization, through all its changing dispensations, and into which, at some future period, the Jews are again to be introduced. In other words, christianity is a prolongation and expansion of a previously existing organization, but not a new church, except in its mode

of dispensation, and a change in the form of its ordinances. Let us, also, recur for the same purpose, to a difficulty which would be of frequent occurrence in the primitive period of christianity, and which the Apostle specifically meets in his Epistle to the Corinthians. We mean the case where one of the united head of a family was a christian, while the other remained a pagan. The question would, here, naturally be suggested, in what light are the children of such parents to be viewed? In answering this question, the Apostle brings forward this interesting principle, exceedingly pertinent to our subject, viz: that the faith or piety of either husband or wife, as the case might be, even in the absence of christian principle or profession in the other party, secured the privileges of the church to their offspring. "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband." The faith of one party, prevents the injurious and otherwise exclusive influence of the other, so far as church privileges or the relation of their children to the church, are concerned. "Else were your children unclean," separated from the church, cast out into the common field of the world, without the pale of the covenant; "but now," in virtue of the faith of only one party, "are they holy," not in the sense of personal piety, but invested with the peculiar privileges and blessings pertaining to membership in the church of Christ; "holy," just as all the Jewish people were holy, separated unto God, visibly united to him and his church. To make "unclean," here mean illegitimate, as some contend, or personally unholy, is utterly indefensible on any correct principles of interpretation. The term "holy," expresses the state of a person or thing separated to the service of God, and "unclean," the state of a person or thing, not so separated, or which is "common." "Holy," therefore, in the Apostle's mind and time, would convey precisely what "a member of the church" does in ours, and could not otherwise have been understood by primitive christians. The position of the Apostle is that so far as the connexion of the children with the church is concerned, if one parent exercised faith and thus was constituted a part of "Abraham's seed and an heir according to promise," the faith of one party sanctified the other party, and brought the children into the

same relation to the church, that the children of the Jews held in the old dispensation. The rite by which this relation in the christian church is recognized, is different, but the relation itself is the same. The rite is baptism; the relation, membership in the church. Baptism perpetuates the original, and, as we apprehend, immutable, organic character of the church, and indicates the great law of its perpetuation and progress in all dispensations, to be the same. Except on the assumption of the unity of the church, and the continuance of its organic character, and the admission of infants to its membership, we cannot see how this difficulty would ever have occurred, or that the Apostle has satisfactorily disposed of it, in the passage now considered.

Various other particular passages of the Epistles, convey the same idea of the unity of the church and the perpetuation of its organic feature, after the introduction of the new dispensation and the Gentile element. In his Epistle to the Ephesians, for example, Paul speaks of the Gentiles as being formerly "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise;" but in virtue of faith in Christ, incorporated into the church, "built on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets," who were Jews, "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," in whom these different parts of the one structure were united together. "In whom all the building," the Jewish part existing previously, and the part now added from Gentile material, "fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together, for an habitation of God, through the Spirit;" of course, when these new elements were brought into the previously existing church, in the absence of any specific repealing enactment, emanating from the supreme authority in the church, they would come into possession of all the privileges previously and *ab initio* existing. Had there been any such organic change as would have excluded children from privileges accorded to them, in every previous age, consequent upon the introduction of the Gentiles, a far fiercer controversy than that about circumcision, would have been recorded in the "Acts of the Apostles." But we have not the slightest intimation, in any part of the recorded history of the early period of christianity, of such an idea or agitation; nor,

indeed, does the question of the relation of children to the church, occur at all, except as growing out of the difficulty, considered just now, during the canon of Scripture, nor, in fact, till a very late period of christianity. Individualism, was an idea utterly unknown and incomprehensible, by the Apostles and primitive christians, and the authors of the New Testament, who were all Jews.

It is, in this connexion and in view of this existing state of opinion, that the unquestioned fact of household baptisms, by the Apostles, assumes its true significancy. The households of the jailor, and of Lydia, and of Stephanus, baptized by Paul; came into the christian church in the regular and ordinary way, and were only specimens, incidentally recorded, we suppose, of what took place everywhere, when the word of God took effect on the adult population of heathenism at the head of families. Believers and their offspring became incorporated with the church, as soon as they renounced idolatry and identified themselves with christianity. And as the Apostles "went everywhere, preaching the kingdom of God," they "made disciples of all nations," as they were commanded, in families, by "baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The church, through her ministry, "turning away from the Jews," when "they rejected the counsel of God against their own souls," though always, and in every place, giving them the first offer, "turned to the Gentiles." Thus they transmitted in a different line, the same glorious succession, a perpetuated, covenanted, organization. Organized christianity, notwithstanding all changes in nations, and the confusion of earth, exists on this principle to our day; and blessed be his name, we believe it will exist till the winding up of the whole scheme, purposed in the beginning. For "God's purpose shall stand, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations." "His ways are past finding out, and his judgments are unsearchable;" but his covenant is sure and faithful forever. "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things, to whom be glory forever."

We maintain these views of organic christianity, and of the relation of children to the church, growing out of this idea then, not only as believers in the symbols of the church, but as believ-

ers in the Bible—taught there to recognize the church as one in all ages, notwithstanding the change of dispensations and ordinances. As warranted by the original covenant and church organization, which is still operative, we hold it our privilege to consider our children as with ourselves, members of God's church, constituting, organically, a part of that body, of which Christ is the head, and to which the precious promises and privileges of the original and unrepealed covenant belong, by God's own plan and purpose. On the Scriptural basis we have elucidated, we conceive it our privilege, also, not as a fiction or falsehood, but as a blessed fact, to teach them to say with us, "Our Father," at the family altar, and try to have them feel all the blessed efficacy of this appellation on their hearts. It is our privilege to train them up to regard their Father in Heaven, for the sake of their Elder Brother and Redeemer, as actually holding towards them a relation as real and tender as that of their earthly parents; and exercising towards them, on the ground, not of goodness or excellence in them, but of the Saviour's interposition, feelings and affections, far more kind and compassionate than ever throbbed in the bosom of an earthly parent. It is our privilege, to bring up our children to exercise towards that glorious being, "the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth," from the very beginning, the feeling of adoption, so that their first conscious exercises should be of reciprocated affection towards Jesus Christ, as a Person of ineffable loveliness and compassion. It is our privilege, along with the education influences, not only of direct instruction, but of our own spirit and temper and the whole manifested purpose of life, of our own hopes and joys and prospects, growing out of our own individual faith, to expect the efficacious and regenerative grace of the Holy Ghost, as really to make them christians in the church below, as that grace has fitted those taken from us in infancy, for the church above. Our children need not ever experience the feelings of unmitigated "enmity against God," except as we do ourselves, in our depraved nature, and must expect to do, till our dying day, though as a subjugated principle, rising and rebelling against, and sometimes conquering "the law of our minds," by which usually "we serve God." They need not occupy, at any conscious period of their being,

the position of rebels against God, "aliens and strangers," necessitating a transfer of relations, and a terrible revolution in their souls in adult age. Being in the church and in covenant with God, having the seal of God upon them, if, at mature age, they prefer the world, and choose it as a portion, as many do, they must do so by a deliberate act of renunciation. They must give up God their Father in heaven, and go out of the church, and relinquish the privileges and blessings of the new covenant, as citizens of a nation renounce allegiance to one government and go over to another.

The view we have thus given of the relation of children to the church, is equally removed from "baptismal regeneration," as held by some churches, on the one hand, and the bald individualism, which we as unfeignedly reprobate, on the other, presenting, as we apprehend it, the right and safe medium. It does not say, that children have new hearts, because they are baptized or will necessarily become christians and be saved, whether parents are faithful or not. But it does affirm, that in the exercise of faith in God's covenant and the faithful use of means, the Holy Spirit may be expected to give to our children, the germ of a new life, and that God's promises afford a blessed presumption, which we ought to cherish, on which we may act, and by which we may be animated, that they will grow up christians, and remember no definite time or set of conscious exercises, when and by which they became children of God. While it repudiates the idea that grace is governed by ordinary generation, it does hold that piety is preserved and was designed by God to be perpetuated, ordinarily, in the line of family succession. As the faith of Timothy, "dwelt first in his grandmother Lois, and then in his mother Eunice, and last of all in him also," though "his father was a Greek." And as the piety of President Edwards, can be traced up, in the ascending series, to a faithful preacher, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and in the descending series, has been transmitted to about seventy of the existing ministry of America, besides other posterity, eminent for piety in other walks of life, almost innumerable, and as, moreover, according to statistics, which utterly refute the slander, that the children of ministers, are usually the worst, at least one-fifth of the existing Presbyte-

rian and Congregational ministry of the United States, are descendants of "the tribe of Levi."

Such is christianity, as originally embosomed in the Abrahamic covenant—the christianity to which the Jewish institute served as a pedagogue or preparatory system—the christianity expounded by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who regarded Abraham as the "the Father" alike of "the circumcision," or the Jewish branch, and of "the uncircumcision," or Gentile portion, "if they walked in the steps of that faith which Abraham had being yet uncircumcised"—who preached "Christ as the minister of circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the Fathers," and also of uncircumcision, "that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy."

From the beginning, through all its phases and dispensations, the church is one; organic in its character, embracing among its members, the infant children of believers, from whom eminently its growth is to be expected. It is a part of the plan of God to bring the law of family increase directly into the church, and make it also a law of spiritual increase, or in the words of Baxter, himself an exemplification of his profound remark, "Education, rightly conducted, is an ordinary way for the conveyance of God's grace, and ought no more to be set in opposition to the Spirit, than the preaching of the word."

Were these views as clearly apprehended and fully carried out as they might and ought to be, the great law of the church's progress and perpetuation, would be verified to the comfort of parents and to the illustration of divine faithfulness, to an extent seldom now, if ever witnessed. The reproach cast upon the church of God, of inefficacy and inferiority to other schemes of man's devising, would be wiped away, and the wisdom of God, in its original organization and immutable peculiarities, exhibited. Families would be the nurseries of the church. Faithful parental instruction, would secure the first buddings of the *plants of grace*, and pastors would only have to develop them by appropriate cultivation to "trees of righteousness," "filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ to the glory and praise of God." At the proper age, the infant members, recognizing their relations, would gratefully and intelligently

assume the responsibilities involved in their early consecration by their parents, and thus from age to age, by a constant reproduction and increasing expansion, from this the primary source, in addition to all the aggressions made on the empire of Satan, and sin, and the votaries of the world, the church of God, would, as it was designed, go on, widening and deepening, till "the knowledge of the Lord would cover the earth as the waters do the sea." Piety, too, beginning early in life, would assume progressively lovelier and more influential forms of manifestation from generation to generation, so that "the child would die an hundred years old;" "the dew of youth," the strength of manhood, and the ripeness of age, would all be given to God and his cause. In virtue of this simple element alone, of internal vitality, independently of accretion from without, expanding by organic growth, not external conquest, the church of God, according to the tenor of the covenant, might soon fill the world. "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of their enemies, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." "For thus saith the Lord, this is my covenant with them, my spirit which is upon thee and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, henceforth and forever." In accordance with these covenant promises, "the mustard seed" grows till it "becomes a tree." "The leaven" spreads "till all is leavened." "The stone cut out without hands," becomes "a great mountain and fills the whole earth." "The handfull of corn on the tops of the mountains," multiplying by its law of reproduction, increases, till "its fruit shakes like Lebanon," and "they of the city," the church of God on earth, "flourish like grass of the earth," perpetuated and multiplied, from age to age, till it covers "the field which is the world," once filled with briers and thorns, "with its fresh and lovely verdure, and earth becomes again the Paradise it was at first, and which, the Son of God, became incarnate and shed his blood, to reproduce.

PITTSBURG, Pa.

D. H. R.

ART. XII.—FALSE PROTESTANTISM.

WE translate the following communication from a late number of Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*. It is too important, in our estimation, to be allowed to pass without attention. If there be any one evil among us, that deserves to be exposed, it is the disposition shown in so many directions to make common cause with any and every interest that proclaims itself in opposition to Rome. The worst sort of zeal for Protestantism, surely, is that which practically at least, seeks to turn it into a mere *negation*, the blind contradiction, simply, of all that is considered peculiar to Romanism; by which it is brought to regard all such contradiction, however rationalistic and radical, as so far good and desirable. It seems to be forgotten by many, that opposition to Rome *may* be at the same time hostility to all religion; and that the loss of the Pope is not necessarily, in and of itself, the gain of Christ. We have heard, indeed, of a distinguished minister openly preaching that infidelity itself is to be counted a less evil than religion under the Roman Catholic form; and we remember the case of another, (to our mind, a very *melancholy* case,) who took pains to show publicly, that his son had not sought the consolations of religion, when dying on the battle field, at the hands of a Roman Catholic chaplain—preferring, as it seemed, a death that left no hope to one that could offer it only in this form. But such diseased judgments carry with them no lasting or general weight. They caricature the true Protestant faith. This is not in league thus with Christ's enemies, against christianity under any form. The triumph of mere infidelity over Romanism, is not one which it can either desire or welcome. That is no true Protestantism, even when exhibited by otherwise good Protestants, which can take complacency in such a man as Ronge, or go off in a fit of sympathy with his so-called German Catholicism, whether in Europe or America. We all remember how this ungodly movement was greeted, at the beginning, by the most of our religious papers; and how few of them had honesty enough afterwards to utter any equally explicit denunciation of it, when its true character stood confessed

finally before the whole world. What must we think, however, of the easy credulity of the same religious press, that after all this, could allow itself to be so readily imposed upon again by the very same spurious spirit presenting itself with the same pretensions on this side of the Atlantic. The movement referred to in the following letter, under the auspices of the notorious Giustiniani, was hailed in all directions, on the faith of our most respectable religious journals, as the outburst of a new reformation, which was likely to sweep the whole German Catholic population in this country, and turn it away forever from its allegiance to the Pope. No one cared, apparently, to sift very narrowly the positive character of this new church; enough that it showed itself ready, with open throat, to hate and curse Rome. And yet, as might have been easily foreseen from the first, it has all turned out to be just what Rongeanism was before, on the other side of the water, a hellish farce, a diabolical lie. This is, of course, sufficiently humiliating; but it is still more so, that the respectable and popular religious journals aforesaid, still lack nerve, as it would seem, to come out openly and confess the sham, which was thought so recently to deserve their high glorification; and judging by the past, there is too much reason to fear that a new outbreak of the same spirit in some new quarter, with the Rev. Giustiniani figuring at its head, would so throw them again off their guard, in spite of all that has gone before, that we should have the very same old song rung in our ears, from Dan to Beersheba, as though the whole movement had gone perfectly straight from the beginning. J. W. N.

Letter in the Kirchenfreund.

In the November number of your Monthly, you have expressed your views freely, and for this very reason offensively to many, on the subject of *Free German Catholicism* in America. Will you allow a correspondent also, a few words, which may serve possibly to place your remarks in a still clearer light? When we speak of Free German Catholicism in America, we must now understand by it simply the efforts at conversion which are made by the American Protestant Society, through its missionaries and colporteurs, among the Roman Catholics; for the representative of the Rongean movement, Mr. Dowiat, who for a

time created such a stir in New York, has already a good while ago, bid adieu again to this country,* and no trace whatever remains of his work. And what is it now that the American Protestant Society properly proposes in this case? Is it to transplant to America also, the movement started a few years since in Germany? So it is pretended; plainly, however, neither the nature of that movement is understood, nor the means needed, humanly speaking, for bringing it to effect. In truth, such a movement is at this time wholly impossible in America. Every one who knows anything of the general state of the case, knows that the Catholics of this country, so far as they retain any religious feeling and are not fallen into full indifferntism, are far more closely and stiffly wedded to the worship of their church, than those of the old mother country; that they are here much more under the authority and will of their priests and bishops, than in the old country, where the government has taken the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs into its hands, and the episcopal mandate becomes of force only through its *placet*. And the mass of the Roman Catholic people, belonging as they do almost entirely to the lowest class, and as such ignorant and superstitious, is perfectly satisfied with this state of things; neither the oppression of the hierarchy, nor the defect in doctrine or worship, are so felt as to create any longing after deliverance. And yet this is indispensable for any work of reformation, which is to stand. God himself must produce this feeling, this longing, however dark and unclear; so that the preacher standing forward in the service of such a people, shall have only to bring the dark want into clear consciousness, and show how it is to be satisfied; in other words, the fuel must be at hand, so as to need only the commencing spark to kindle the whole mass into a bright glowing flame. This was the case, unquestionably, with the Jews and heathen in the time of the Apostles, and with the Roman Church at the time of the Reformation; and inasmuch as nothing of the sort is found in the Roman Church of America, there is no room to think either of any result in this view. If the American Protestant Society wishes to do anything then for the benefit of Romanists, it should send pious and fit persons to visit them from house to house, who might converse with them in the spirit of love, proclaim to them the free grace of God in Jesus Christ, and so bring them to an inward dissatisfaction with their spiritual state. With the word of God in their hands, and the way to the throne of grace open, they would then soon find

* Condemned, Dec. 16, by the criminal court in Berlin, on a charge of riot, to six years' imprisonment.

the right way and come into union with some of the existing denominations of the Protestant Church. Such in fact was the earlier design of the Society, till the notorious Giustiniani came into it, and by his influence, with some of its more active members, brought about this unhappy change in its efforts. Of the fruit of the labors of its other missionaries, almost nothing has become known; though it has had several such, for longer or shorter time, as Winkelmann, Reubelt, Lachenmayer, &c.; while all noise has been made from time to time of Giustiniani, as though the Roman Church in America, stood on the point of falling to pieces under his hand. How scandalously he has behaved, however, and how very foolishly the Am. Prot. Society has acted in regard to him, must strike every one who is at all acquainted with the case. It is now just two years since he made so much noise in New York; one hundred and eighty conversions were reported, and the number of converts represented to be daily increasing. But how soon did this soap-bubble burst! In June, of that same year, this flourishing congregation, under Giustiniani's own care, had melted down to fifteen, and now no trace of it whatever is to be found. The means alone which had been resorted to, cut off all continued growth; for not to mention that the greater part of those who had lent their names to this farce, consisted of homeless Protestants and unbelievers, no pains had been spared to win the few Catholics included in it by fair promises, the prospect of profitable employment, and the assurance of having ministerial acts performed without cost. Is it any wonder, that all should go down under such circumstances? The Society boasts of a thousand conversions already wrought by its agents; but if it be with all as with the hundred and eighty in New York, the thousand must melt into less than a hundred. With the state of things in New York, the writer is fully acquainted, and can at any time prove any of his statements. According to report, the Free German Catholic congregation in Newark, is also about breaking up; and Rochester will form the exception to a rule, if within one year any trace shall be left there of the same movement. R.

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